

THE
SACRED BOOKS
OF THE
Old and New Testament,
RECITED at large :

AND ILLUSTRATED WITH
Critical and Explanatory ANNOTATIONS,

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VOL. II.

By *SAMUEL HUMPHREYS*, Esq;

Give ear, O my people, to my law: incline your ears to the words of my mouth.



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Critical and Explanatory ANNOTATIONS

On the BOOK of

DANIEL.

The INTRODUCTION.

Daniel the Prophet of the Lord, was descended from the royal family of David, and carried captive to Babylon, when he was yet very young, in the fourth year of Jehoiakim king of Judah, in the year of the world 3398, before Jesus Christ 602, before the Vulgar Æra 606. He was chosen with his three companions, Hananiah, Michael, and Azariah, to continue in Nebuchadnezzar's court, Dan. i. 1, 2, 3, 4, &c. and such an education was given them, as was suitable to the employments for which they were designed. Daniel, and his companions, made very great progress in all the sciences of the Chaldeans, and never would consent to pollute themselves, by eating such provisions as was served up at the king's table.

The first occasion on which Daniel made an eminent discovery of his wisdom, was in the deliverance of Susanna, who was accused unjustly, and condemned to die. He made her innocence appear, and laid open the slander of the elders, her accusers. Sometime after Nebuchadnezzar having in a dream seen a large statue, composed of several metals, (Dan. ii.) which was beaten to pieces by a stone cut off from the mountain, had a mind to have his dream explained to him. But as he had forgotten it; he insisted, that the magicians should not only interpret it, but should likewise recall it to his memory. As this was what they could not possibly do, they were all condemned to death. Daniel being informed of what passed, divined and explained the dream; and thereupon was established governor of the province of Babylon, and chief of all the magicians and diviners in that country.

At another time Nebuchadnezzar having in a dream seen a large tree, which was hewn down and cut in pieces, but so notwithstanding that its root remained; Daniel foretold to him, that he would be soon reduced to the condition of beasts, and should be driven from his palace. The event immediately follow'd the interpretation, and this prince was struck with madness, and imagined that he was become an ox. He continued seven years in this sad state, after which he re-ascended the throne, and reigned as before, Dan. iv. 1, 2, 3, &c.

Sometime after he set up a golden statue, and made publick proclamation, that all men, when they heard the sound of musical instruments, should fall down and worship the statue which he had erected, Dan. iii. 1, 2, 3, &c. Daniel in all probability was at that time absent from Babylon. But his three companions, having disobey'd the king's order, were thrown into a fiery furnace, out of which they came without receiving any hurt. The greatness and evidence of this miracle engaged Nebuchadnezzar to put out an edict in favour of the Jewish religion. He died a little after in the year of the world 3444; and Evilmerodach succeeded him. Daniel under this prince maintained all that credit, which he had possessed under the king his father.

Belshazzar succeeded Evilmerodach; and in his reign, Daniel had the famous visions of the four Beasts, which came out of the sea, (Dan. vii.) and represented the four great empires of the Chaldeans, Persians, Greeks and Romans, or rather of the Seleu-

cidæ and *Lagidæ*. After this, in the same vision, God discovered to Daniel the persecutions which the Jews were to suffer under Antiochus Epiphanes; the vengeance of God upon him for so oppressing them; and the victories which the Maccabees would obtain over him. In the following chapter God shewed to Daniel a ram, and an he-goat pushing at each other with their horns. By the he-goat was meant Alexander the Great, and by the ram Darius Codomannus, the last of the Persian kings, who were the successors of Cyrus. The ram was overcome, and the he-goat became exceeding powerful. The Prophet described the successors of Alexander, particularly Antiochus Epiphanes, under the representation of horns rising above the head of the he-goat. This was all explained to Daniel in the same vision by the Angel Gabriel.

Belshazzar king of Chaldea, being killed the very night, wherein he had profaned the sacred vessels of God's Temple, Darius the Mede, his great-uncle by the mother's side, succeeded him, Dan. v. 1, 2, 3, &c. This prince having established an hundred and twenty governors over the provinces of his dominions, raised Daniel above all of them, and designed to give him the general administration of the whole kingdom; which having excited the envy of the other grandees, they engaged the king to make an edict, forbidding every man to ask any thing of God, or of any other besides the king. The edict was published, and observed by all the people. But Daniel continued to put up his prayers to God, regularly three times a day, with his face turned towards Jerusalem. His enemies immediately gave the king notice of it, who was obliged to order that he should be thrown into the Lions den. The next day early in the morning Darius went thither, and finding Daniel to be there in perfect health, commanded him to be taken out; and his accusers, with their wives and families to be thrown into the same place in his room, Dan. vi. 1, 2, &c.

In this prince's reign, Daniel having read in the Prophet Jeremiah, that seventy years would be accomplished in the desolation of Jerusalem, he prayed earnestly to God, and fasted, in order to receive the explanation of them: when he had thus devoutly prayed, the Angel Gabriel appear'd to him and revealed something else of much greater importance, which was the death and sacrifice of the Messiah, which was to happen at the end of seventy weeks, composed each of seven years, and which altogether make the sum of four hundred and ninety years. In the third year of Cyrus's reign in Persia, which falls in with the first of Darius at Babylon, Daniel had another remarkable vision, wherein the Angel Gabriel told him, that Michael had assisted him to overcome the king of Persia, that is to say, Cyrus. After this, the Angel discover'd to him in a manner, almost as clear, as if he had related an history whatever was to happen in Persia after Cyrus, Dan. x. The coming of Alexander the Great, (Dan. xi.) his conquests, the overthrow of the Persian empire, the erecting that of the Greeks, the long and continued wars between the kingdoms of Syria and Egypt; the persecutions of the Saints by Antiochus Epiphanes, the destruction of this persecuting prince; and the victory and happiness of the Saints.

After the death of Darius the Mede, Cyrus ascended the throne of the Persians and Medes. Daniel had always great authority in his dominions. We refer the history of Bel and the Dragon, who were worshipped by the Babylonians, to the reign of this prince. Bel was a brazen idol, to which there were offered every day twelve measures of fine flour, forty sheep, and six large vessels of wine. The idol was believed to be alive, and to consume all this that was presented to it. Daniel hereupon undertook to undeceive the king. He told him, that not Bel, but others for him, eat what was put before him. The truth was, that there were seventy priests belonging to Bel, without reckoning their wives and children, who were supported this way, and entred by night into the temple, through subterraneous passages, without any one's perceiving it. Daniel therefore, coming to the temple with the king, directed the ordinary quantity of meat, bread and wine to be placed upon the altar; then obliging the priests to retire, he spread ashes upon the pavement of the temple, and going out shut the door close, and put the king's signet upon it.

In the night time the priests came, as usual, with their wives and children, and ate up the provisions on the altar. The next morning the king came with Daniel, and finding the door shut close, and the seals to be entire, they opened the door, and the king observing

serving that there was nothing remaining of what was left upon the altar the evening before, cried out, "Great art thou, O Bel, and with thee is no deceit at all." Daniel hereupon laughed, and holding the king, to prevent his going any further, said to him, "See this pavement, whose footsteps are these?" The king said, "I see the footsteps of men, women and children;" and he was extremely angry. He commanded therefore the priests, their wives and children, to be seized; and they shewed him the private little doors through which they entred, and eat whatever was put upon the table: The king therefore commanded them to be put to death, and delivered the idol Bel into Daniel's power, who destroyed him and his temple.

There was a great dragon in the same city, which the Babylonians worshipped. The king said to Daniel, "You cannot say now, but this is a God, therefore adore him." Daniel replied, "I adore the Lord my God; but this is nothing like a Deity. Let me have your permission, and I will slay him without making use either of staff or sword." The king permitting him, Daniel took pitch, fat, and hair, and seething them together, made lumps thereof; these he put into the dragon's mouth, and the dragon burst asunder. The Babylonians being strangely provoked with this, came to the king and told him, that unless he delivered Daniel to them, they would destroy him and his family. The king therefore was compelled to put Daniel into their hands, and they cast him into the lions den, where he remained six days. Now there were seven lions in the den, and every day they gave them the bodies of two men and two sheep, which then were not given them, to the intent they might devour Daniel. At that time the Prophet Habakkuk, who was in Judea, having made provision for his reapers, the Angel of the Lord directed him to carry the dinner which he had prepared, to Babylon, and give it to Daniel, who was in the lions den. Habakkuk answered, "I never was at Babylon, and know not where the den is." Then the Angel of the Lord took him by the crown of the head, and holding him by the hair, carried him through the air to Babylon; there setting him upon the den, he gave Daniel his dinner; and the Angel immediately conveyed Habakkuk back to the place from whence he had taken him. Upon the seventh day, the king came to bewail Daniel, and as he approached near to the den, he saw Daniel sitting among the lions: Whereupon he immediately cried with a loud voice, and said, "Great art thou, O Lord God of Daniel;" and taking him out, he cast those in who would have destroyed this Prophet, and the lions devoured them in a moment before his face. This is what may be gathered from the Sacred and Apocryphal Books of Scripture, which however are all accepted by some Christians as canonical; yet, for my own part, I can't act so weak a part, as to believe what is here related of Daniel, Habakkuk, and the Angel, for serious and certain truths. "May not we, says a certain critic, as well believe with the Chinese, that people after death are transported to Heaven by the hair of their heads? For which reason, they suffer it to grow continually and preserve it with great care." Where it is also to be observed, that among the assertors of the orthodox of these opinions there are some who maintain, that there were two Daniels, one of David's family, who is the Prophet, of whom we have been speaking; the other of the tribe of Levi, and of Ithamar's family, who is said to be the author of the history concerning the deliverance of Susanna, and of that relating to the death of the dragon, and the destruction of Bel's temple. But there is no solid proof of this distinction of two Daniels.

The reputation of Daniel was so great, even in his life-time, that it became a proverb; "Thou art wiser than Daniel, said Ezekiel in an ironical way to the king of Tyre," Ezek. xxxiii. 3. And in another place of the same Prophet, God said, "Tho' these three men, Noah, Daniel and Job were in it, they should deliver but their own souls, by their righteousness," Ezek. xiv. 14--20. Josephus tells us, that God bestowed many favours on him, and that he was advanced to the rank of the most considerable Prophets. He enjoy'd the good graces of the princes with whom he lived, and the affection of the people to his death, after which his reputation was immortal; tho' some of the Jews shew'd an inclination formerly to exclude Daniel from the number of the Prophets; but their dislike to this Prophet proceeded from hence only, viz. that his predictions were too clear and too express for Jesus Christ, and that he points out the time of his coming too evidently.

It is believed that Daniel died in Chaldæa, and that he did not take the advantage of the permission granted by Cyrus to all Jews, of returning to their country. The great employments which he possessed in the Persian empire, kept him probably among them. St. Epiphanius says he died at Babylon; and herein he is followed by the generality of historians. Others think he died at Shushan or Susa, where he passed a good part of his life, and had many visions. Benjamin of Tudela relates, that his monument was shewn at Chuzestan, which is the antient Susa. Josephus, *Antiq.* l. x. c. ult. says, that in his time there was still to be seen at Ecbatane, the capital of Media, a tower of admirable structure, said to have been built by Daniel. The kings of Media and Persia were buried in it, and the guard of it was committed to a priest of Jewish extraction.

Among Daniel's writings, there are some pieces which have at all times constantly been esteemed to be canonical; and others which have been long contested. Whatsoever is written in Hebrew, or Chaldee (for some parts of his works are in Chaldee mixed with Hebrew) is all generally acknowledged to be canonical, both by Jews and Christians. But there has been great opposition to those parts which are written in Greek only. Where note, that by the Greek part of Daniel's Book of Prophecies is meant the stories of Susanna, and of Bel and the Dragon, which are excluded from our canon of Scripture, but make an addition of the thirteenth and fourteenth chapters in the Latin Vulgate, being translated from the Greek of Theodotian. And in the same Latin version, after the 23d verse of the third chapter, between that and the 24th verse, is added the song of the three children. But these additions neither are, nor, as appears ever were extant in the Hebrew or Chaldee language, and never received into the Jewish, nor Christian canon; till for some purpose of their own, the Emissaries of Popery admitted them into the canon of their church, by authority of the council of Trent.

In St. Jerom's time, the Jews were hereupon divided; some admitted the whole history of Susanna, others rejected it intirely; some again received one part of it, and rejected another. Josephus the historian, has said nothing concerning the story of Susanna, nor of that of Bel and the Dragon. But Josephus Ben-Gorion, a Jewish author, who wrote in Hebrew, relates at full length, every thing that has any respect to Bel and the Dragon, and says nothing of Susanna. And the Church of England has excluded them from any place in her sacred canon of the word of God, which she has received and established, upon the best grounded authority of sound reason, and the purest antiquity.

The twelve canonical chapters of Daniel are partly in Hebrew, partly in Chaldee. He speaks Hebrew, where what he delivers is a bare narrative; but he relates in Chaldee, the conversations which he had in this language with the magicians, and the kings Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar, and Darius the Mede. In the same language he reports Nebuchadnezzar's edict, published by him after Daniel had interpreted his dream concerning a great golden image. This shews the extreme accuracy of this Prophet, who relates the very words of those persons whom he introduces as speaking.

Porphry pretended, that the Prophecies, which we have in Daniel's name were falsely ascribed to him; that this work was written by an impostor, who lived in Judea, in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, who in order to procure credit, counterfeited an inspired person, and set down these things in a prophetic style, which he had seen with his own eyes, and were transacted in his own time: that if he advanced any thing beyond the time of Epiphanes, he did so by chance, and contrary to truth. This celebrated enemy of our religion, had observed so much clearness in the Prophecies of Daniel, that he took them to be histories. But that Daniel lived at Babylon long before Antiochus Epiphanes, and there wrote the Prophecies, which go under his name, is what cannot reasonably be contested.

The Chronology of Daniel we dispose in this order: He was brought to Babylon in the year of the world 3398, at the age, perhaps of twelve years. The history of Susanna, supposing it to be his, might have happened in 3401. Nebuchadnezzar's dream of a great statue of gold in 3402. The same prince's dream of a great tree, which was cut down to the root, in 3434. The year following Nebuchadnezzar run mad, and
imagined

imagined himself to be an ox. In 3443, he ascended the throne again. The same year the history of the golden statue erected by this prince, might have happened. Daniel had the vision of the four beasts in the beginning of Belshazzar's reign, 3446. Two years after, that is to say, in 3448, he had that of the ram and the he-goat, who pushed their horns one against the other. The visions of Daniel set down in the ixth, xth, xith, and xiith chapters of his Prophecy, we refer to the year 3449, in the beginning of the reign of Darius the Mede. Lastly, the history of Bel and the Dragon, supposing them to be his, are recorded to have happened in the reign of Cyrus, about the year 3468. But the time of Daniel's death is not known.

The Rabbins, who are out of humour with Daniel, in all probability, because his prophecies are too evident proofs, that Jesus Christ is the true Messiah, and that the time of his coming, who is called *the desire of all nations*, is passed; maintain that he ought not to be ranked among the Prophets for two reasons; First, because he did not live in the holy land, out of which the spirit of prophecy does not reside: Secondly, because he spent his life in the court of a great king, in the enjoyment of honours and pleasures, and in a manner very different from the other Prophets way of living. Some add that he was an eunuch, which opinion they ground upon the following words of Isaiah to Hezekiah, 2 Kings ix. 18. "And of thy sons that shall issue from thee, which thou shalt beget, shall they take away; and they shall be eunuchs in the palace of the king of Babylon." Now the law excludes all sorts of eunuchs from the Church or congregation of the Lord, Deut. xxiii. 1. *Non introibit Eunuchus Ecclesiam Domini.*

It is true, Aben-Ezra and the generality of the Rabbins purge him from this last defect, but the other accusations remain; and many are content to place his writings among the *Hagiographa*, or devout writings, which are of much less authority than the *canonical* Scriptures. They add further another spiteful remark against this Prophet. They pretend that while his three companions Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego resisted the impious orders of the king of Babylon, and were thrown into the fiery furnace, Daniel went into Egypt: (what to do?) to look for hogs, which he conveyed cunningly and by stealth out of this country. But Josephus testifies the great merit of Daniel. The prophet Ezekiel commends him as one of the most illustrious persons of his time; and Jesus Christ in the Gospel clearly acknowledges him to be a Prophet indeed.

Some believed that Daniel returned with Esdras into Judea; and the eastern people declare; that he was sent back thither by Bahaman, the son of Asfendias, king of Persia. They add, that he returned into Persia, and died in the City of Susa. Josephus relates that Daniel built a famous edifice at Ecbatane, in the form of a castle, which was still in being in the time of this historian, and was so admirable for its workmanship, that it seem'd to have been but just finished, so well did it preserve its first lustre. In this palace the kings of Persia chose to have the place of their interment; and in consideration of its first founder, the guard of it was still in his time committed to one of the Jewish nation.

Others are of opinion that he dwelt continually at Babylon or Susa, and that he never returned into Judea: His great age; his employments, and the want which his brethren had of his protection when in captivity, might probably excuse him from returning into his own country. There were many men who did not think it convenient to leave Chaldea, where they lived in repose and quiet, and had been long settled, to go and seek for an uncertain settlement in a land almost reduced to a wilderness.

Some oriental authors attribute to Daniel the invention of geomancy, which they call *Raml*; others ascribe it to Edris, who is the same with the patriarch Enoch. This geomancy consists in making many points on tables prepared for this purpose, which they call *Raml*. These points thus disposed in a certain number in many unequal Lines, may likewise be described with a pen on paper; and he who divines by the help of this art is called *Raminal*.

They likewise make Daniel the Author of a volume intitled *principles relating to the explanation of dreams*; and there is another book in the king of France's library with this title, *Odmath-al-mantoul an D-nial al-nabi*, which contains predictions of the Prophet Daniel received by tradition from him. This is a work, which abounds with falsities, forged by the Mahometans, and founded on the real Prophecies of Daniel.

They further assert, that this Prophet preached the unity of God throughout all Chaldaea; and that he converted the king of Persia, Lohorasb, and Cyrus: That the latter gave Daniel the government of Syria, and the possession of the city of Damascus. This is the whole that I can learn of Daniel and the authority of his writing, which I shall sum up as follows:

Though it be granted, that Daniel did never exercise the publick calling nor function of a Prophet, in the quality of an ecclesiastical person, to preach to the people, and expound in sacred assemblies the revelations which were sent him by God; yet his book hath always been inserted amongst the number of the other Prophets, as containing most special and admirable predictions of the state of the world and Church, from his time, until Christ's coming in the flesh; gathered by himself, and published in this book. Which comprehends two general parts, the one *historical*, the other *prophetical*. In the first he sets down what notable things happened concerning his own person, and his course of life, to make himself to be acknowledged a true Prophet, authorised by God; relating how that in his youth he was carried away captive to Babylon, and was with others of the same nation, age, and condition, chosen to be instructed, and consequently employed in honourable employments in that empire. But that God having taken them into his particular care and charge, did enable those humane instructions by an infusion of divine gifts and graces. First, in a spirit of sanctification, zeal, and singular piety, tried by cruel torments inflicted upon Daniel's three companions in their youth; and upon Daniel himself in his old age: And besides, in so eminent understanding and wisdom, wherein Daniel was remarkable, and spoken of, as it were, by a common proverb; whereupon they were promoted to eminent dignities, to the great ease and sustenance of the Church in her captivity and sufferings at Babylon. And at the last in the spirit of prophecy in Daniel, which manifested it self; First, in putting Nebuchadnezzar in mind of his dreams which he had forgotten, and interpreting of them; and afterwards in the miraculous prediction, and setting forth of the evils which did hang over the head of Belshazzar his grandchild. God willing thereby, that upon this occasion, his terrible judgments upon the unmeasurable pride of the one, and the prophane sacrilege and insolence of the other of these kings, under whom the people had been carried away, and kept in a long and cruel slavery, should be transmitted to the knowledge of posterity. But it did fully shine out in the incomparable visions set down in the second part of this book, concerning the four great Monarchies of the world, until the coming of Christ; and especially touching Seleucides, king of Syria, and other successors of Alexander; under whom the Jewish Church should suffer most grievous and mournful accidents; and especially under Antiochus Epiphanes, the most cruel, subtil, and pestilent persecutor that ever the Church had; his principal aim and end being to root out Gods worship in it, together with all impression and motion of piety in mens hearts. Under whose figure are also foretold the persecutions of Rome, whilst it was heathen; and also of antichrist, the last deadly enemy of the Christian Church, as Antiochus had been of the Jewish; against whose outrages the Prophet comforteth and strengthneth the Church by the promise of Gods help and deliverance in his appointed time; lifting their hearts, notwithstanding, up for a sovereign comfort to Gods promise of everlasting salvation by Christ, who being established by the Father to be the everlasting king of the world, should from time to time cause ruin to fall upon those Empires; and at last lay the foundation of his own spiritual and everlasting one, upon the redemption purchased by his death (the prefixed time whereof is more clearly shewn to him, than to any other Prophet) through which all ancient ceremonies being accomplished in their signification, the use of them should also be abolished to give way to the true service of God in spirit and truth; foretelling also that as Christ's kingdom should be exercised in justly punishing the Jewish nation for their incredulity and rebellion; so it should contrariwise produce salvation, glorious resurrection and everlasting happiness for all true believers; as is more fully promised and set forth by Christ himself and his holy Apostles and Evangelists in the Books of the New Testament.

C H A P. I.

1 *Jehoiakim's captivity.* 3 *Ashpenaz taketh Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael and Azariah.* 8 *They refusing the king's portion, do prosper with pulse and water.* 17 *Their excellency in wisdom.*



IN the third year of the reign of Jehoiakim king of Judah, came Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, unto Jerusalem, and besieged it.

2 And the Lord gave Jehoiakim king of Judah into his hand, with part of the vessels of the house of God, which he carried into the land of Shinar to the house of his god, and he brought the vessels into the treasure-house of his god.

3 ¶ And the king spake unto Ashpenaz the master of his eunuchs, that he should bring *certain* of the children of Israel, and of the kings seed, and of the princes;

4 Children in whom *was* no blemish, but well-favoured, and skilful in all wisdom, and cunning in knowledge, and understanding science, and such as *had* ability in them to stand in the kings palace, and whom they might teach the learning and the tongue of the Chaldeans.

5 And the king appointed them a daily provision of the kings meat, and of the wine which he drank: so nourishing them three years, that at the end thereof they might stand before the king.

6 Now among these were of the children of Judah, Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah:

7 Unto whom the prince of the eunuchs gave names: for he gave unto Daniel the name of Belteshazzar; and to Hananiah, of Shadrach; and to Mishael, of Meshach; and to Azariah, of Abednego.

8 ¶ But Daniel purposed in his heart, that he would not defile himself with the portion of the kings meat, nor with the wine which he drank: therefore he requested of the prince of the eunuchs, that he might not defile himself.

9 Now God had brought Daniel into favour and tender love with the prince of the eunuchs.

10 And the prince of the eunuchs said unto Daniel, I fear my lord the king, who hath appointed your meat and your drink: for why should he see your faces worse liking than the children which *are* of your sort?

then shall ye make *me* endanger my head to the king.

11 Then said Daniel to Melzar, whom the prince of the eunuchs had set over Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah.

12 Prove thy servants, I beseech thee, ten days, and let them give us pulse to eat, and water to drink.

13 Then let our countenances be looked upon before thee, and the countenance of the children that eat of the portion of the kings meat: and as thou seest, deal with thy servants.

14 So he consented to them in this matter, and proved them ten days.

15 And at the end of ten days, their countenances appeared fairer, and fatter in flesh than all the children which did eat the portion of the kings meat.

16 Thus Melzar took away the portion of their meat, and the wine that they should drink: and gave them pulse.

17 ¶ As for these four children, God gave them knowledge and skill in all learning and wisdom: and Daniel had understanding in all visions and dreams.

18 Now at the end of the days that the king had said he should bring them in, then the prince of the eunuchs brought them in before Nebuchadnezzar.

19 And the king communed with them, and among them all was found none like Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah: therefore stood they before the king.

20 And in all matters of wisdom *and* understanding that the king enquired of them, he found them ten times better than all the magicians *and* astrologers that *were* in all his realm.

21 And Daniel continued *even* unto the first year of king Cyrus.

C H A P. II.

1 *Nebuchadnezzar forgetting his dream, required it of the Chaldeans, by promises and threatnings.* 10 *They acknowledging their inability, are judged to die.* 14 *Daniel obtaining some respite, findeth the dream.* 19 *He blesseth God.* 24 *He staying the decree, is brought to the king.* 31 *The dream.* 36 *The interpretation.* 46 *Daniel's advancement.*

AND in the second year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, Nebuchadnezzar dreamed dreams, wherewith his spirit was troubled, and his sleep brake from him.

2 Then the king commanded to call the magicians, and the astrologers, and the forcerers, and the Chaldeans, for to shew the king

king his dreams: so they came, and stood before the king.

3 And the king said unto them, I have dreamed a dream, and my spirit was troubled to know the dream.

4 Then spake the Chaldeans to the king in Syriack, O king, live for ever: tell thy servants the dream, and we will shew the interpretation.

5 The king answered and said to the Chaldeans, The thing is gone from me: if ye will not make known unto me the dream, with the interpretation thereof, ye shall be cut in pieces, and your houses shall be made a dunghill.

6 But if ye shew the dream, and the interpretation thereof, ye shall receive of me gifts, and rewards, and great honour: therefore shew me the dream, and the interpretation thereof.

7 They answered again and said, Let the king tell his servants the dream, and we will shew the interpretation of it.

8 The king answered and said, I know of certainty that ye would gain the time, because ye see the thing is gone from me.

9 But if ye will not make known unto me the dream, *there is but* one decree for you: for ye have prepared lying and corrupt words to speak before me, till the time be changed: therefore tell me the dream, and I shall know that ye can shew me the interpretation thereof.

10 ¶ The Chaldeans answered before the king, and said, There is not a man upon the earth that can shew the kings matter: therefore *there is* no king, lord, nor ruler, *that* asked such things at any magician, or astrologer, or Chaldean.

11 And *it is* a rare thing that the king requireth, and there is none other that can shew it before the king, except the gods, whose dwelling is not with flesh.

12 For this cause the king was angry and very furious, and commanded to destroy all the wise-men of Babylon.

13 And the decree went forth, that the wise-men should be slain; and they sought Daniel and his fellows to be slain.

14 ¶ Then Daniel answered with counsel and wisdom to Arioch the captain of the kings guard, which was gone forth to slay the wise-men of Babylon:

15 He answered and said to Arioch the kings captain, Why *is* the decree *so* hasty

from the king? Then Arioch made the thing known to Daniel.

16 Then Daniel went in, and desired of the king that he would give him time, and that he would shew the king the interpretation.

17 Then Daniel went to his house, and made the thing known to Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, his companions:

18 That they would desire mercies of the God of heaven concerning this secret; that Daniel and his fellows should not perish with the rest of the wise-men of Babylon.

19 ¶ Then was the secret revealed unto Daniel in a night-vision: then Daniel blessed the God of heaven.

20 Daniel answered and said, Blessed be the name of God for ever and ever: for wisdom and might are his.

21 And he changeth the times and the seasons: he removeth kings, and setteth up kings: he giveth wisdom unto the wise, and knowledge to them that know understanding.

22 He revealeth the deep and secret things: he knoweth what *is* in the darkness, and the light dwelleth with him.

23 I thank thee, and praise thee, O thou God of my fathers, who hast given me wisdom and might, and hast made known unto me now what we desired of thee: for thou hast *now* made known unto us the kings matter.

24 ¶ Therefore Daniel went in unto Arioch whom the king had ordained to destroy the wise-men of Babylon: he went and said thus unto him, Destroy not the wise-men of Babylon: bring me in before the king, and I will shew unto the king the interpretation.

25 Then Arioch brought in Daniel before the king in haste, and said thus unto him, I have found a man of the captives of Judah, that will make known unto the king the interpretation.

26 The king answered and said to Daniel, whose name *was* Belshazzar, Art thou able to make known unto me the dream, which I have seen, and the interpretation thereof?

27 Daniel answered in the presence of the king, and said, The secret which the king hath demanded, cannot the wise-men, the astrologers, the magicians, the soothsayers shew unto the king;

28 But

28 But there is a God in heaven that revealeth secrets, and maketh known to the king Nebuchadnezzar, what shall be in the latter days. Thy dream, and the visions of thy head upon thy bed, are these;

29 As for thee, O king, thy thoughts came into *thy mind*, upon thy bed, what should come to pass hereafter: and he that revealeth secrets, maketh known unto thee what shall come to pass.

30 But as for me, this secret is not revealed to me, for *any* wisdom that I have more than any living, but for *their* sakes that shall make known the interpretation to the king, that thou mightest know the thoughts of thy heart.

31 ¶ Thou, O king, sawest, and behold, a great image: this great image whose brightness *was* excellent, stood before thee, and the form thereof *was* terrible.

32 This images head *was* of fine gold, his breast and his arms of silver, his belly and his thighs of brass,

33 His legs of iron, his feet part of iron, and part of clay.

34 Thou sawest till that a stone was cut out without hands, which smote the image upon his feet *that were* of iron and clay, and brake them to pieces.

35 Then was the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, and the gold broken to pieces together, and became like the chaff of the summer-threshing-floors, and the wind carried them away, that no place was found for them: and the stone that smote the image became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth.

36 ¶ This *is* the dream; and we will tell the interpretation thereof before the king.

37 Thou, O king, *art* a king of kings: for the God of heaven hath given thee a kingdom, power, and strength, and glory.

38 And wheresoever the children of men dwell, the beasts of the field, and the fowls of the heaven hath he given into thine hand, and hath made thee ruler over them all: thou *art* this head of gold.

39 And after thee shall arise another kingdom inferior to thee, and another third kingdom of brass, which shall bear rule over all the earth.

40 And the fourth kingdom shall be strong as iron, forasmuch as iron breaketh in pieces, and subdueth all *things*: and as iron that breaketh all these, shall it break in pieces, and bruise.

41 And whereas thou sawest the feet and toes, part of potters clay, and part of iron: the kingdom shall be divided, but there shall be in it of the strength of the iron, forasmuch as thou sawest the iron mixed with miry clay.

42 And *as* the toes of the feet *were* part of iron, and part of clay; *so* the kingdom shall be partly strong, and partly broken.

43 And whereas thou sawest iron mixt with miry clay, they shall mingle themselves with the seed of men: but they shall not cleave one to another, even as iron is not mixed with clay.

44 And in the days of these kings shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom, which shall never be destroyed: and the kingdom shall not be left to other people, *but* it shall break in pieces, and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever.

45 Forasmuch as thou sawest that the stone was cut out of the mountain without hands, and that it brake in pieces the iron, the brass, the clay, the silver, and the gold; the great God hath made known to the king what shall come to pass hereafter: and the dream *is* certain, and the interpretation thereof sure.

46 ¶ Then the king Nebuchadnezzar fell upon his face, and worshipped Daniel, and commanded that they should offer an oblation, and sweet odours unto him.

47 The king answered unto Daniel, and said, Of a truth *it is*, that your God is a God of gods, and a Lord of kings, and a revealer of secrets, seeing thou couldest reveal this secret.

48 Then the king made Daniel a great man, and gave him many great gifts, and made him ruler over the whole province of Babylon, and chief of the governors over all the wise-men of Babylon.

49 Then Daniel requested of the king, and he set Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego over the affairs of the province of Babylon: but Daniel *sat* in the gate of the king.

CHAP. III.

1 Nebuchadnezzar dedicateth a golden image in Dura. 8 Shadrach, Meshach and Abed-nego are accused for not worshipping the image. 13 They being threatened, make a good confession. 19 God delivereth them out of the furnace. 26 Nebuchadnezzar seeing the miracle, bleisseth God.

Nebuchadnezzar the king made an image of gold, whose height *was* threescore cubits, *and* the breadth thereof

six cubits: he set it up in the plain of Dura, in the province of Babylon.

2 Then Nebuchadnezzar the king sent to gather together the princes, the governors, and the captains, the judges, the treasurers, the counsellors, the Sheriffs, and all the rulers of the provinces, to come to the dedication of the image which Nebuchadnezzar the king had set up.

3 Then the princes, the governors, and captains, the judges, the treasurers, the counsellors, the sheriffs, and all the rulers of the provinces were gathered together unto the dedication of the image that Nebuchadnezzar the king had set up; and they stood before the image that Nebuchadnezzar had set up.

4 Then an herald cried aloud, To you it is commanded, O people, nations, and languages,

5 *That* at what time ye hear the sound of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, dulcimer, and all kinds of musick, ye fall down, and worship the golden image that Nebuchadnezzar the king hath set up.

6 And whoso falleth not down and worshippeth, shall the same hour be cast into the midst of a burning fiery furnace.

7 Therefore at that time, when all the people heard the sound of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, and all kinds of musick, all the people, the nations, and the languages fell down *and* worshipped the golden image, that Nebuchadnezzar the king had set up.

8 ¶ Wherefore at that time certain Chaldeans came near and accused the Jews.

9 They spake and said to the king Nebuchadnezzar, O king, live for ever.

10 Thou, O king, hast made a decree, that every man that shall hear the sound of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, and dulcimer, and all kinds of musick, shall fall down and worship the golden image:

11 And whoso falleth not down and worshippeth, *that* he should be cast into the midst of a burning fiery furnace.

12 There are certain Jews whom thou hast set over the affairs of the province of Babylon, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego: These men, O king, have not regarded thee, they serve not thy gods, nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up.

13 ¶ Then Nebuchadnezzar in *his* rage and fury commanded to bring Shadrach,

Meshach, and Abed-nego: then they brought these men before the king.

14 Nebuchadnezzar spake and said unto them, *Is it* true, O Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego? do not ye serve my gods, nor worship the golden image which I have set up?

15 Now if ye be ready that at what time ye hear the sound of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, and dulcimer, and all kinds of musick, ye fall down and worship the image which I have made, *well*: but if ye worship not, ye shall be cast the same hour into the midst of a burning fiery furnace, and who *is* that God that shall deliver you out of my hands?

16 Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, answered and said to the king, O Nebuchadnezzar, we are not careful to answer thee in this matter.

17 If it be *so*, our God whom we serve, is able to deliver us from the burning fiery furnace, and he will deliver *us* out of thine hand, O king.

18 But if not, be it known unto thee, O king, that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up.

19 ¶ Then was Nebuchadnezzar full of fury, and the form of his visage was changed against Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego: *therefore* he spake and commanded, that they should heat the furnace one seven times more than it was wont to be heat.

20 And he commanded the most mighty men that *were* in his army, to bind Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, *and* to cast *them* into the burning fiery furnace.

21 Then these men were bound in their coats, their hosen, and their hats, and their *other* garments, and were cast into the midst of the burning fiery furnace.

22 Therefore because the kings commandment was urgent, and the furnace exceeding hot, the flame of the fire slew those men that took up Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego.

23 And these three men, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, fell down bound into the midst of the burning fiery furnace.

24 Then Nebuchadnezzar the king was astonished, and rose up in haste, *and* spake and said unto his counsellors, Did not we cast three men bound into the midst of the fire? They answered and said unto the king, True, O king.

25 He answered and said, Lo, I see four men loose, walking in the midst of the fire, and they have no hurt; and the form of the fourth is like the son of God.

26 ¶ Then Nebuchadnezzar came near to the mouth of the burning fiery furnace, and spake and said, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, ye servants of the most high God, come forth, and come *hither*. Then Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego came forth of the midst of the fire.

27 And the princes, governors, and captains, and the kings counsellors being gathered together, saw these men, upon whose bodies the fire had no power, nor was an hair of their head singed, neither were their coats changed, nor the smell of fire had passed on them.

28 Then Nebuchadnezzar spake, and said, Blessed be the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, who hath sent his angel, and delivered his servants that trusted in him, and have changed the kings word, and yielded their bodies, that they might not serve nor worship any god, except their own God.

29 Therefore I make a decree, That every people, nation, and language, which speak any thing amiss against the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, shall be cut in pieces, and their houses shall be made a dunghil, because there is no other god that can deliver after this sort.

30 Then the king promoted Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego in the province of Babylon.

CHAP. IV.

1 Nebuchadnezzar confesseth God's kingdom, 4 maketh relation of his dreams, which the magicians could not interpret. 8 Daniel heareth the dream. 19 He interpreteth it. 28 The story of the event.

NEbuchadnezzar the king, unto all people, nations, and languages that dwell in all the earth, Peace be multiplied unto you.

2 I thought it good to shew the signs and wonders that the high God hath wrought toward me.

3 How great *are* his signs! and how mighty *are* his wonders! his kingdom *is* an everlasting kingdom, and his dominion *is* from generation to generation.

4 ¶ I Nebuchadnezzar was at rest in mine house, and flourishing in my palace:

5 I saw a dream which made me afraid, and the thoughts upon my bed, and the visions of my head troubled me.

6 Therefore made I a decree to bring in all the wise-men of Babylon before me, that they might make known unto me the interpretation of the dream.

7 Then came in the magicians, the astrologers, the Chaldeans, and the soothsayers: and I told the dream before them; but they did not make known unto me the interpretation thereof.

8 ¶ But at the last Daniel came in before me (whose name *was* Belteshazzar, according to the name of my God, and in whom *is* the spirit of the holy gods) and before him I told the dream, *saying*,

9 O Belteshazzar, master of the magicians, because I know that the spirit of the holy gods *is* in thee, and no secret troubleth thee, tell me the visions of my dream that I have seen, and the interpretation thereof.

10 Thus *were* the visions of mine head in my bed, I saw, and behold, a tree in the midst of the earth, and the height thereof *was* great.

11 The tree grew, and was strong; and the height thereof reached unto heaven, and the sight thereof to the end of all the earth.

12 The leaves thereof *were* fair, and the fruit thereof much, and in it *was* meat for all: the beasts of the field had shadow under it, and the fowls of the heaven dwelt in the boughs thereof, and all flesh was fed of it.

13 I saw in the visions of my head upon my bed, and behold, a watcher, and an holy one came down from heaven.

14 He cried aloud, and said thus, Hew down the tree, and cut off his branches, shake off his leaves, and scatter his fruit; let the beasts get away from under it, and the fowls from his branches.

15 Nevertheless, leave the stump of his roots in the earth, even with a band of iron and brass, in the tender grass of the field, and let it be wet with the dew of heaven, and let his portion *be* with the beasts in the grass of the earth.

16 Let his heart be changed from mans, and let a beasts heart be given unto him, and let seven times pass over him.

17 This matter *is* by the decree of the watchers, and the demand by the word of the holy ones: to the intent that the living may know that the most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will, and setteth up over it the basest of men.

18 This

18 This dream I king Nebuchadnezzar have seen : now thou, O Belteshazzar, declare the interpretation thereof, forasmuch as all the wise-men of my kingdom are not able to make known unto me the interpretation : but thou art able, for the spirit of the holy gods *is* in thee.

19 ¶ Then Daniel (whose name *was* Belteshazzar) was astonished for one hour, and his thoughts troubled him : the king spake, and said, Belteshazzar, let not the dream, or the interpretation thereof trouble thee. Belteshazzar answered and said, My lord, the dream *be* to them that hate thee, and the interpretation thereof to thine enemies.

20 The tree that thou sawest, which grew, and was strong, whose height reached unto the heaven, and the sight thereof to all the earth.

21 Whose leaves *were* fair, and the fruit thereof much, and in it *was* meat for all : under which the beasts of the field dwelt, and upon whose branches the fowls of the heaven had their habitation :

22 It *is* thou, O king, that art grown and become strong : for thy greatness is grown, and reacheth unto heaven, and thy dominion to the end of the earth.

23 And whereas the king saw a watcher, and an holy one coming down from heaven, and saying, Hew the tree down, and destroy it, yet leave the stump of the roots thereof in the earth, even with a band of iron and brass in the tender grass of the field, and let it be wet with the dew of heaven, and *let* his portion *be* with the beasts of the field, till seven times pass over him :

24 This *is* the interpretation, O king, and this *is* the decree of the most High, which is come upon my lord the king :

25 That they shall drive thee from men, and thy dwelling shall be with the beasts of the field, and they shall make thee to eat grass as oxen, and they shall wet thee with the dew of heaven, and seven times shall pass over thee, till thou know that the most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will.

26 And whereas they commanded to leave the stump of the tree-roots, thy kingdom shall be sure unto thee, after that thou shalt have known that the heavens do rule.

27 Wherefore, O king, let my counsel be acceptable unto thee, and break off thy sins by righteousness, and thine iniquities

by shewing mercy to the poor ; if it may be a lengthning of thy tranquility.

28 ¶ All *this* came upon the king Nebuchadnezzar.

29 At the end of twelve months he walked in the palace of the kingdom of Babylon.

30 The king spake and said, Is not this great Babylon, that I have built for the house of the kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty ?

31 While the word *was* in the kings mouth, there fell a voice from heaven, *saying*, O king Nebuchadnezzar, to thee it is spoken, The kingdom is departed from thee.

32 And they shall drive thee from men, and thy dwelling *shall be* with the beasts of the field : they shall make thee to eat grass as oxen, and seven times shall pass over thee, until thou know that the most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will.

33 The same hour was the thing fulfilled upon Nebuchadnezzar ; and he was driven from men, and did eat grass as oxen, and his body was wet with the dew of heaven, till his hairs were grown like eagles *feathers*, and his nails like birds *claws*.

34 And at the end of the days, I Nebuchadnezzar lift up mine eyes unto heaven, and mine understanding returned unto me, and I blessed the most High, and I praised and honoured him that liveth him for ever, whose dominion *is* an everlasting dominion, and his kingdom *is* from generation to generation.

35 And all the inhabitants of the earth *are* reputed as nothing : and he doeth according to his will in the army of heaven, and *among* the inhabitants of the earth : and none can stay his hand, or say unto him, What dost thou ?

36 At the same time my reason returned unto me, and for the glory of my kingdom, mine honour and brightness returned unto me ; and my counsellors and my lords sought unto me ; and I was established in my kingdom, and excellent majesty was added unto me.

37 Now I Nebuchadnezzar praise and extol and honour the king of heaven, all whose works *are* truth, and his ways judgment, and those that walk in pride he is able to abase.

CHAP. V.

1 *Belshazzar's impious feast. 5 A hand writing, unknown to the magicians, troubleth the king. 10 At the commendation of the queen, Daniel is brought. 17 He reproving the king of pride and idolatry, 55 readeth and interpreteth the writing. 30 The monarchy as translated to the Medes.*

Belshazzar the king made a great feast to a thousand of his lords, and drank wine before the thousand.

2 Belshazzar, whiles he tasted the wine, commanded to bring the golden and silver vessels which his father Nebuchadnezzar had taken out of the temple, which *was* in Jerusalem, that the king and his princes, his wives and his concubines might drink therein.

3 Then they brought the golden vessels that were taken out of the temple of the house of God, which *was* at Jerusalem; and the king and his princes, his wives and his concubines drank in them.

4 They drunk wine, and praised the gods of gold, and of silver, of brass, of iron, of wood, and of stone.

5 ¶ In the same hours came forth fingers of a mans hand, and wrote over against the candlestick upon the pilaster of the wall of the kings palace; and the king saw the part of the hand that wrote.

6 Then the kings countenance was changed, and his thoughts troubled him, so that the joynts of his loyns were loosed, and his knees smote one against another.

7 The king cried aloud to bring in the astrologers, the Chaldeans, and the soothsayers: *and* the king spake and said to the wise-men of Babylon, Whosoever shall read this writing, and shew me the interpretation thereof, shall be cloathed with scarlet, and *have* a chain of gold about his neck, and shall be the third ruler in the kingdom.

8 Then came in all the kings wise-men, but they could not read the writing, nor make known to the king the interpretation thereof.

9 Then was king Belshazzar greatly troubled, and his countenance was changed in him, and his lords were astonied.

10 ¶ Now the queen by reason of the words of the king and his lords, came into the banquet-house; *and* the queen spake and said, O king, live for ever: let not thy thoughts trouble thee, nor let thy countenance be changed.

11 There is a man in thy kingdom, in whom *is* the spirit of the holy gods, and in the days of thy father, light and understand-

ing and wisdom like the wisdom of the gods, was found in him; whom the king Nebuchadnezzar thy father, the king, *I say*, thy father made master of the magicians, astrologers, Chaldeans, *and* soothsayers;

12 Forasmuch as an excellent spirit and knowledge, and understanding, interpreting of dreams, and shewing of hard sentences, and dissolving of doubts were found in the same Daniel, whom the king named Belshazzar: now let Daniel be called, and he will shew the interpretation.

13 Then was Daniel brought in before the king; *and* the king spake and said unto Daniel, *Art* thou that Daniel, which *art* of the children of the captivity of Judah, whom the king my father brought out of Jewry?

14 I have even heard of thee, that the spirit of the gods *is* in thee, and *that* light and understanding, and excellent wisdom is found in thee.

15 And now the wise-men, the astrologers have been brought in before me, that they should read this writing, and make known unto me the interpretation thereof: but they could not shew the interpretation of the thing.

16 And I have heard of thee that thou canst make interpretations, and dissolve doubts: now if thou canst read the writing, and make known to me the interpretation thereof, thou shalt be cloathed with scarlet, and *have* a chain of gold about thy neck, and shalt be the third ruler in the kingdom.

17 ¶ Then Daniel answered and said before the king, Let thy gifts be to thy self, and give thy rewards to another, yet will I read the writing unto the king, and make known to him the interpretation.

18 O thou king, the most high God gave Nebuchadnezzar thy father a kingdom, and majesty, and glory, and honour.

19 And for the majesty that he gave him, all people, nations, and languages trembled and feared before him: whom he would he slew, and whom he would he kept alive, and whom he would he set up, and whom he would he put down.

20 But when his heart was lifted up, and his mind hardened in pride, he was deposed from his kingly throne, and they took his glory from him.

21 And he was driven from the sons of men, and his heart was made like the beasts, and his dwelling *was* with the wild asses:

they fed him with grafs like oxen, and his body was wet with the dew of heaven, till he knew that the most high God ruled in the kingdom of men, and *that* he appointeth over it whomsoever he will.

22 And thou his son, O Belshazzar, hast not humbled thine heart, though thou knewest all this:

23 But hast lifted up thy self against the Lord of heaven, and they have brought the vessels of his house before thee, and thou and thy lords, thy wives and thy concubines have drunk wine in them, and thou hast praised the gods of silver and gold, of brass, iron, wood, and stone which see not, nor hear, nor know: and the God in whose hand thy breath *is*, and whose *are* all thy ways, hast thou not glorified.

24 Then was the part of the hand sent from him, and this writing was written.

25 ¶ And this *is* the writing that was written. MENE MENE, TEKEL, UPHARSIN.

26 This *is* the interpretation of the thing; MENE, God hath numbred thy kingdom, and finished it.

27 TEKEL, thou art weighed in the balances, and art found wanting.

28 PERES, thy kingdom is divided, and given to the Medes and Persians.

29 Then command Belshazzar, and they cloathed Daniel with scarlet, and *put* a chain of gold about his neck, and made a proclamation concerning him, that he should be the third ruler in the kingdom.

30 ¶ In that night was Belshazzar the king of the Chaldeans slain.

31 And Darius the Median took the kingdom, *being* about threescore and two years old.

CHAP. VI.

1 Daniel is made chief of the presidents. 4 They conspiring against him, obtain an idolatrous decree. 10 Daniel accused of the breach thereof, is cast into the lions den. 18 Daniel is saved. 24 His adversaries devoured, 25 and God magnified by a decree.

IT pleased Darius to set over the kingdom an hundred and twenty princes, which should be over the whole kingdom;

2 And over these, three presidents (of whom Daniel *was* first) that the princes might give accounts unto them, and the king should have no damage.

3 Then this Daniel was preferred above the presidents and princes, because an excellent spirit *was* in him; and the king thought to set him over the whole realm.

4 ¶ Then the presidents and princes sought to find occasion against Daniel concerning the kingdom, but they could find none occasion nor fault: forasmuch as he *was* faithful, neither was there any error or fault found in him.

5 Then said these men, We shall not find any occasion against this Daniel, except we find *it* against him concerning the law of his God.

6 Then these presidents and princes assembled together to the king, and said thus unto him, King Darius, live for ever.

7 All the presidents of the kingdom, the governors, and the princes, the counsellors, and the captains have consulted together to establish a royal statute, and to make a firm decree, that whosoever shall ask a petition of any God or man for thirty days, save of thee, O king, he shall be cast into the den of lions.

8 Now, O king, establish the decree, and sign the writing; that it be not changed, according to the law of the Medes and Persians, which altereth not.

9 Wherefore king Darius signed the writing, and the decree.

10 ¶ Now when Daniel knew that the writing was signed, he went into his house; and his windows being open in his chamber toward Jerusalem, he kneeled upon his knees three times a day, and prayed, and gave thanks before his God, as he did aforetime.

11 Then these men assembled and found Daniel praying, and making supplication before his God.

12 Then they came near, and spake before the king concerning the kings decree, Hast thou not signed a decree, that every man that shall ask a *petition* of any God or man within thirty days, save of thee, O king, shall be cast into the den of lions? The king answered and said, The thing *is* true, according to the law of the Medes and Persians, which altereth not.

13 Then answered they and said before the king, That Daniel which *is* of the children of the captivity of Judah, regardeth not thee, O king, nor the decree that thou hast signed, but maketh his petition three times a day.

14 Then the king when he heard *these* words, was sore displeased with himself, and set *his* heart on Daniel to deliver him: and he laboured till the going down of the sun, to deliver him.

15 Then

15 Then these men assembled unto the king, and said unto the king, Know, O king, that the law of the Medes and Persians is, that no decree nor statute which the king establisheth, may be changed.

16 Then the king commanded and they brought Daniel, and cast *him* into the den of lions: *now* the king spake and said unto Daniel, Thy God whom thou servest continually, he will deliver thee.

17 And a stone was brought and laid upon the mouth of the den, and the king sealed it with his own signet, and with the signet of his lords; that the purpose might not be changed concerning Daniel.

18 ¶ Then the king went to his palace, and passed the night fasting: neither were instruments of musick brought before him, and his sleep went from him.

19 Then the king arose very early in the morning, and went in haste unto the den of lions.

20 And when he came to the den, he cried with a lamentable voice unto Daniel, and the king spake and said to Daniel, O Daniel, servant of the living God, is thy God, whom thou servest continually, able to deliver thee from the lions?

21 Then said Daniel unto the king, O king, live for ever.

22 My God hath sent his angel, and hath shut the lions mouths that they have not hurt me: forasmuch as before him innocency was found in me; and also before thee, O king, have I done no hurt.

23 Then was the king exceeding glad for him, and commanded that they should take Daniel up out of the den: so Daniel was taken up out of the den, and no manner of hurt was found upon him, because he believed in his God.

24 ¶ And the king commanded, and they brought those men which had accused Daniel, and they cast *them* into the den of lions, them, their children, and their wives; and the lions had the mastery of them, and brake all their bones in pieces or ever they came at the bottom of the den.

25 ¶ Then king Darius wrote unto all people, nations, and languages, that dwell in all the earth, Peace be multiplied unto you.

26 I make a decree, that in every dominion of my kingdom, men tremble and fear before the God of Daniel: for he is the living God, and stedfast for ever, and his kingdom

that which shall not be destroyed; and his dominion shall be even unto the end.

27 He delivereth and rescueth, and he worketh signs and wonders in heaven and in earth, who hath delivered Daniel from the power of the lions.

28 So this Daniel prospered in the reign of Darius, and in the reign of Cyrus the Persian.

CHAP. i. In this chapter, we see, how Daniel, being yet young, was brought to Babylon and educated at the court of king Nebuchadnezzar. From which we may gather these three reflections.

1st, That by the providence of God, Daniel was carried captive to Babylon with the other Jews; that he was brought up at the court of the king; and that he there render'd himself famous, by his wisdom, piety, and by this gift of Prophecy. In which we must acknowledge the ways of God, who made use of Daniel for the consolation of the captive Jews, and to make known the true God among those idolatrous people.

2dly, We have a noble example of the piety and temperance of Daniel, who would not eat of the king's meat, but was fed only with water and pulse. This behaviour of Daniel teaches every body, and especially young persons, to shun luxury, to be sober, and never to do any thing contrary to religion, or their consciences.

3dly, That God granted Daniel, together with health and strength of body, understanding and extraordinary gifts, which raised him to considerable employments. Thus God blesses those that fear him; bestows his favours upon sober and pious persons, and often grants them temporal blessings as a reward of their godliness.

Ver. i. In the third year of the reign of Jehoiakim king of Judah, came Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon to Jerusalem. We read in the Prophet Jeremiah, that the fourth year of Jehoiakim king of Judah, was the first year of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, chap. xxv. 1. How then, as it may reasonably be objected, can Nebuchadnezzar be here said to be king of Babylon in the third year of the said Jehoiakim? Yet however difficult the answer may seem at first sight, it is ingeniously and easily answered by that learned antiquarian, Dr. Prideaux, who says, that "in the third year of Jehoiakim, Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, finding that on Necho's taking of Carchemish, all Syria and Palestine had revolted to him, and that he being old and infirm was unable to march thither himself to reduce them, he took Nebuchadnezzar, his son in partnership with him in the empire, and sent him with an army into those parts, and from hence the Jewish computation of Nebuchadnezzar's reign begins, that is, from the end of the third year of Jehoiakim. For it was about the end of that year, that this was done, and therefore according to the Jews, Jer. xxv. 1. the fourth year of Jehoiakim was the first year of Nebuchadnezzar. But, according to the Babylonians, his reign is not reckoned to begin till after his father's death, which happened two years afterwards, and both computations being found in Scripture, it is necessary to say so much here for the reconciling of them." Script. connect. p. 1. p. 83. 8vo. 2d Edit. So that you may observe, that Daniel here, being among the Babylonians, who more punctually observed the time of Nebuchadnezzar, their king's accession to the throne, begins his computation from the time that Nebuchadnezzar was taken into partnership of the empire, and was sent by his father to give battle to Pharaoh-Necho, king of Egypt, which was towards the latter end of the third year of Jehoiakim. In the beginning of the following year, which was really the fourth year of Jehoiakim, he conquered the Egyptians, as the same Jeremiah expressly records saying, which (Egypt) Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon smote in the fourth year of Jehoiakim the son of Josiah, king of Israel, ch. xlv. 2. And in the latter end of the same year, he came and besieged Jerusalem in the ninth month, according to the Jews account; at which time the seventy years

years of captivity and vassalage to Babylon began; for then Jehoiakim became tributary to the king of Babylon.

Ver. 2. *And the Lord gave Jehoiakim king of Judah into his hand.*] This is particularly related by the author of the second book of Kings, and the second book of Chronicles. The former has it, *Jehoiakim did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord, and in his days Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon came up, and Jehoiakim became his servant three years, then he turned and rebelled against him,* 2 Kings xxiii. 37. and xxiv. 1. Which the latter records in these words: *against him (Jehoiakim) came up Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, and bound him in fetters to carry him to Babylon. Nebuchadnezzar also carried off the vessels of the house of the Lord to Babylon, and put them in his temple at Babylon,* 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6. Which several accounts are collateral evidences of the truth of our text, and together ascertain the true meaning thereof: for though the Lord is here said to give Jehoiakim into the hand of the king of Babylon, we are not to infer from thence, that the king of Judah was carried to Babylon; but only, that God gave the king of Babylon full possession of his dominions, and power over his person, to do with them and him, what he pleased; and at first Nebuchadnezzar intended to carry him away captive, *he bound him in fetters to carry him to Babylon*, but Jehoiakim submitting himself, and promising to be his tributary, the Babylonian left him in his kingdom, *and Jehoiakim became his servant three years.*

— *Into the land of Shinar.*—] or *Sennaar*. This was a province of Babylon, where the tower of Babel was undertaken to be built, Gen. xi. 2. And we read of one Amraphel king of Shinar, who was a potent prince in the days of Abraham, Gen. xiv. 1. So that, be it granted, that there is, and has been for some generations no country or province known by that name, this was the original name of the country about Babylon, as Gen. xi. 2. And says the learned Calmer, there is great probability that the mountains of Singares or Zagras, as well as the city and river of Singare take their name from Shinar, Sennaar, or Sengar, which is all the same place in the Hebrew.

— *And he brought the vessels into the treasure-house of his God.*] His god was Bel, of whom the Prophet Jeremiah speaks, saying; *Bel is confounded,* ch. i. 2. and in another place, *I will punish Bel in Babylon,* &c. ver. 44. The Babylonians worshipped Bel as a living god, in remembrance of some of their kings, or of the sun, Saturn or Jupiter. But be that as it will, they attributed to him the power of healing diseases, and believed he eat and drank like a living person. Baruch, says (ch. vi. 40.) that a dumb person was presented to him to be restored by his power to the use of speech. And in the Apocrypha attributed to Daniel, the author relates in what manner he discovered the cheat of Bel's priests. See the story of Bel and the Dragon. Now it was in the temple of this god, that Nebuchadnezzar hung up the spoils of war which he had taken in this his expedition against Jerusalem, according to the account of the ancient Berotus, quoted by Josephus, in lib. x. c. 11. antiq.

Ver. 3. *And the king spake unto Ashpenaz, &c.*] This Ashpenaz was one of the chief officers in the king's palace, or intendant over the band of eunuchs that attended about the king's person. It was he, whom afterwards you shall read, changed the name of Daniel into that of Belteshazzar; that of Hannaniah into Shadrach; and that of Azariah into Abed-nego; and refused to grant Daniel's request, that he and his companions might be permitted to live upon pulse only, and such other provisions as was allowed by the law of Moses, lest the king should perceive it by the meager air of their countenance. Notwithstanding, as you will find in the course of this chapter, Melzar, whom Ashpenaz had appointed to be their governor, gave them leave privately; and by God's blessing this diet, was so far from impairing their good complexions, that it rather added to the strength and beauty of their persons, Dan. i. 6.

— *Eunuchs.*] This word comes from the Greek *eunouchos*, or *Εὐνῆχος*, which signifies one who guards or attends upon the bed; because generally in the courts of the eastern kings, the care of the beds, and apartments belonging to princes and princesses was committed to them; but chiefly of princesses, who live there, as is well-known, in great confinement, remote from the sight and company

of men. The Hebrew word *faris* signifies a real eunuch, whether he be *naturally* born such, or made an eunuch by *manual operation*. But this word *faris*, as well as the Greek *eunouchos* or *Εὐνῆχος*, and thence the Latin *eunuchus* is in Scripture taken for an officer, belonging to some prince, attending at his court, and employed in the inner part of the royal palace, whether he be really an eunuch or not. Witness the master of Joseph, Potiphar, who, tho' he had a wife and children is called Pharaoh's eunuch, Gen. xxxix. 1—7. xli. 45. It was a name that denoted some office and dignity; and in the Persian and Turkish courts, the principal employments are still at this day possessed by real eunuchs; of which custom Heliodorus says, that the eunuchs who served in the Persian court, *were the king's eyes and ears*, intimating hereby the authority of the first, and the great confidence which these monarchs placed in them.

— *That he should bring certain of the children of Israel, and of the king's seed.*] Or rather, *even of the king's seed*; for according to Neldius p. 276. the conjunction copulative *and* is often used by way of explication, as then should be rendered with *us even*; which being admitted, the text proves two things, 1st, That Daniel was descended of the royal family of the kings of Judah, because he was one of those whom Ashpenaz made choice of, (ver. 6.) from the *king's seed*: And secondly, The completion of the Prophecy of Isaiah to Hezekiah, saying: "Behold the days come, that all that is in thine house, and that which thy fathers have laid up in store until this day, shall be carried to Babylon, nothing shall be left, saith the Lord. And of thy sons that shall issue from thee, which thou shalt beget, shall they take away; and they shall be eunuchs (or officers) in the palace of the king of Babylon." Which Prophecy was punctually fulfilled in the person of Daniel.

Ver. 4. *Children in whom was no blemish, &c.*] The context clearly explains what is here meant by *no blemish*: And by *children* is not to be understood those not yet past the years of childhood; but on the contrary, for such as were arrived at years of discretion, at least; for the original Hebrew word in this place *yetadim*, is properly used in Scripture for such as are past the years of childhood, as we now distinguish the parts of man's life; and so it is rendered more properly *young men* in other parts of Scripture, as 1 Kings xii. 8, &c. Nor in the very reason of the thing can it be supposed that Daniel and his companions were of less than *twenty years* of age at this time of their admission into the king's favour; because they were soon after promoted to considerable posts in the management of the affairs of the government, Dan. ii. 48, 49.

— *Learning of the Chaldeans.*] These people were famed for learning, and particularly those of them that were peculiarly called Chaldeans, who were their priests, philosophers, astronomers, astrologers, soothsayers and the like. They acquired not their learning in the manner of the Greeks, but possessed what they knew by tradition from father to son, and being exempt from all offices or impositions to divert their studies, they endeavoured to retain all the dictates of their predecessors, with which they were fully satisfied, and never departed from them, so that by a tenacious adherence to their point they became perfectly acquainted with what they professed; Diodor. Sicul. Bibl. Hist. lib. 2. p. 82. Which, if true, we can easily account for their slow progress in polite literature. Their peculiar doctrines were, 1st, That the world is eternal; that it never had beginning, and shall never have an end; though they at the same time acknowledged a Divine Providence; that the motions of the heavens were not directed by blind chance, or performed spontaneously; but by the guidance and direction of superior agents, or gods. They are universally acknowledged to have been the first cultivators of astronomy, and are pretended to have made such progress therein, as to have not only discovered the exact motions of the heavenly bodies, but to have found out certain influences, they have over things below, and to have thence been able to foretell what is hidden in the womb of nature; *idem ibid.* From which delusive amusement of astrology, for to be sure from this account, that must have rather been their study, they boasted a knowledge of what was to come, of a power to avert evil and to procure good; hence chiefly they were con-

considered as magicians, or as we call them *fortune-tellers*.

The planets they called *interpreters*, and made the greatest account of their influence, and particularly, as we are told, of that we call Saturn; next to whom they placed Sol or the sun, and then Mars, Venus, Mercury and Jupiter, by whose motions and aspects they pretended in a more eminent manner to find out the will and pleasure of the gods. Their judgment sometimes was formed upon the manner of their rising, and setting; sometimes by the colour or degree of their light: Whence they foretold storms of wind, or of rain, or exceeding droughts; as also the appearance of comets, eclipses of the sun and moon; earthquakes and the whole train of pretended fore-runners of the good or bad fortune of nations in general, and of kings and private persons in particular.

Under these six planets they ranged thirty stars, which they called *the counselling gods*: Half of which they allotted to take notice of what was done under the earth; and the business of the other half was to take cognizance of the action of men, and the motions of the gods. They also pretended that one of the superior stars descended once in ten days, as it were a messenger from those above, to the inferior: Which compliment was constantly returned by those of the lower region; and should continue so for ever. In like manner they taught, that the chief of these *counselling gods* were twelve in number, and consequently assigned to each of them one month in the year, and a whole sign of the Zodiac.

They supposed that all those stars had influences over the natiivities of men, and were ominous of their future good or bad fortune in this life. Again, out of the Zodiac they selected twenty-four stars, and placed twelve of them towards the north-pole, and twelve towards the south: And such as were within our sight they assigned to the living, and they called the others *the constellations of the dead*: And both sets together, they termed the judges of all things. Thus the Chaldeans were compleat astrologers.

But their astronomy was quite coarse and plain, which they seem'd to cultivate as a science only secondary to the other. In short, the whole of their philosophy and learning, seem to have been chiefly what we now call *judicial astrology*; a science, falsely so called, and as much, and deservedly, contemned by us, as it was prized by the ancients:

This is what history informs us of the learning of the Chaldeans, and from thence we are only able to collect what that *learning* was in which the king of Babylon commanded Daniel and his companions to be instructed, namely, astrology, or the knowledge or art of interpreting the motions and aspects of the heavenly bodies, and the interpretation of dreams; as is particularly remarked by the Prophet at the seventeenth and twentieth verses of this chapter.

Ver. 5—*A daily provision of the king's meat*—] i. e. Not only meat provided at the king's charge and expence; but even the best of his provision that was left at his own table; that it should be served up to them, his choice and beloved servants, according to the custom of the kings of Persia; Athanasius lib. iv. 4. c. 10.

Ver. 7. *He gave unto Daniel the name of Belteshazzar, &c.*] Here you may observe, that the Heathen king, not only endeavoured to draw the minds of these young Jews from the worship and belief of the one true God by a new education according to the institution of the Chaldeans, as above; but would not so much as suffer them to retain the least badge of a Jew; therefore he ordered them to be named after his own gods, and so he says of Belteshazzar, that he was named *according to the name of my god*, the idol Bel, chap. iv. 7. the chief idol in Babylon. And it is probable, that the other names imposed upon Daniel's companions, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, were derived from some other of their idols, less known to us.—This custom of changing proper names is still very remarkably kept up by the monasticks, monks, friars, Jesuits and Nuns in the church of Rome; for every one of them, when they are professed, or take upon them the obligation or vows of their different and respective communities or orders (I won't say renounce, I think the word is too harsh, tho' in effect it is the same) lay aside their *Christian* name received in baptism, and take upon them,

and go ever after by another, which they call a *conventual* name: and is generally adapted to the honour and to preserve the memory of some Saint of their own profession. How far the parallel holds good between those and Nebuchadnezzar's command, I leave the reader to judge; the fact is true.

Ver. 8. *But Daniel purposed in his heart that he would not defile himself with the portion of the king's meat, &c.*] All the difficulty in these words depends upon the words *defile himself with the portion of the king's meat*. I know that some have solved this question, how he could be defiled? &c. with answering, that it was the custom of most nations, before their meals, to make an oblation of some part thereof to their gods, as an acknowledgment that every thing that they eat was their gift; the oblation of meat was by the Romans called *proficæ*, and that of drink *libamina*; so that every entertainment, say they, had something in it of the nature of a sacrifice; which made Daniel and his companions look upon the provisions coming from the king's table, as no better than meats offered to idols. But I think the interpretation is more easy and natural, to ascribe Daniel's *purpose* to be founded upon the law of Moses, Levit. x. 1. which commanded him to eat nothing common or unclean, and to abstain from such and such meats therein particularly mentioned, and very probably in great request with the Babylonians; and therefore Daniel would not eat thereof, and prayed that their governor would permit them to eat *pulse*, &c. according to their Law, Deut. viii. 3. See note on ver. 12. below.

Ver. 10—*Than the children which are of your sort.*] The word *gibe* which is here translated of *your sort*, signifies in the Arabic, of *your age*, which is rather to be accepted, as most agreeable to the context and reason.

Ver. 12. *Let them give us pulse to eat.*] As much as if they had said, if we can have no other meat than what is unclean, either offered to idols, or forbidden by our law, we will rather trust in God, and with his blessing improve as well by eating garden-roots or herbs (which is the proper translation of the Hebrew word *zeronim*) as others shall in faring sumptuously every day; for we are taught, that *man doth not live by bread alone, but by every word, (or command) that proceedeth out of the mouth of God*, Deut. viii. 3. See ver. 8. above.

Ver. 17. *God gave them knowledge and skill, &c.*] Therefore God did not only give them a fairer countenance and made them fatter in the flesh, than all the children which did eat the portion of the king's meat, (ver. 15.) but he endued them with such a capacity as to make them excel all others in the Chaldean learning, which was necessary to recommend them to the kings of Babylon: and, therefore it is added, *Daniel had understanding in all visions and dreams*, i. e. the action of the spirit of man when he is asleep. And such a knowledge as this, a capacity to interpret the meaning of dreams must necessarily ingratiate our Prophet very much in the favour of a people much addicted to consult future events by dreams; we see the antiquity of this custom so early as the days of Joseph the patriarch, who was consulted by the butler and baker, and afterwards by Pharaoh himself, the Egyptian monarch; and we read in the next chapter, that the king, under whom Daniel lived, even Nebuchadnezzar is an instance of the same among the Chaldeans; and therefore God enabled Daniel for his obedience to the Divine Law to interpret dreams, and not because he approved of such a study; but because it was the only way to promote Daniel to the high esteem of the king. For, God has very expressly forbidden his people to observe dreams and to consult those, who took upon them to explain them, Levit. xxx. 26. He condemned any one to death, who pretended to have prophetic dreams, and to foretel what was to come to pass, if after this he would engage the people in idolatry, Deut. xviii. 10. and xiii. 1, 2, 3, &c. But they were not forbid, when they thought they had any significative dreams, to address themselves to the Lord's Prophets, or to the high-priest dressed in his ephod, in order to have it explained.—Wherefore, in that very place, wherein God forbids the Hebrews to consult divines, magicians, and interpreters of dreams, he tells them, That the people whose land ye are going to possess consult soothsayers and diviners: but ye have not been so taught. The Lord shall raise up from the midst of you, and among

your brethren, a Prophet, says Moses, like unto me, him ye shall consult and hearken unto.

The Israelites, therefore, were to address themselves to God and his Prophets to learn the explanation of their dreams, and the prediction of things to come. Thus, because Saul, a little before that fatal battle of Gilboa, consulted a woman with a familiar spirit, the Scripture saith, that *the Lord had departed from him, and would not answer him*, 1 Sam. xxviii. 6. nor discover the success of this war to him, *neither by dreams, nor by Prophets*, ver. 15.

In condescension to the prejudices and ideas of this people, who believed that dreams often were significative, and sent by God, the Lord did indeed sometimes discover his will in dreams, and raised up persons to explain them. He informed Abimelech in a dream, that Sarah was the wife of Abraham, Gen. xx. 3, 6. He shewed Jacob in a dream the mysterious ladder, Gen. xxviii. 2, &c. and the way of multiplying his flocks, Gen. xxxi. 11, 12, &c. Joseph was favoured very early with prophetick dreams, the signification whereof was easily discovered by old Jacob his father, Gen. xxxviii. 5, &c. The dreams of the butler and of the baker were explained, as well as those of Pharaoh, by Joseph, Gen. xl. and xli. God in honour to Moses says, that he spake to other Prophets in visions and dreams, but with him *face to face*, Numb. xii. 6.

Jeremiah exclaims against the false prophets, who pretended to have dreams, and abused the credulity of the people, who hearkened to them, Jer. xxiii. 25, 28, 29. And Joel promises from God, that in the new covenant, and in the reign of the Messiah, the effusion of the Holy Spirit shall be more copious than formerly, that the old men shall have prophetick dreams, and the young men visions, Joel iii. 1.

Thus we see that it was a received opinion in the early ages of the world; that dreams, when they were attended with unusual circumstances did intimate or forebode some future event; which may be largely confirmed from prophane authors; for Tully in his first book of *divination* is very copious on this subject, and alledges some very remarkable instances of that kind. Homer speaks the general sense of his age, who was much earlier than Tully, when he saith,

— ὅ γὰρ τ' ὄναρ ἐκ Διὸς ἔσται.

Even a dream comes from God.

The authority of Joseph is still more ancient, who speaks almost the same words, *Do not interpretations* [of dreams] *come from God*, saith he, Gen. xli. 8. To these I could add, the evidence of Eliphaz, who relates a night-vision, whom he himself had, Job iv. 12, &c. That of Elihu, who affirms, that *God speaks once, yea twice to men in a dream, in a vision of the night*, Job xxxiii. 14, 15.

Ver. 18. *At the end of the days, &c.* At the expiration of three years, as the king had commanded at verse the fifth above — *so nourishing them three years, that at the end thereof they might stand before the king.*

Ver. 19. *They stood before the king.* Or, they were admitted to attend continually in the palace upon the king's person. In like manner Joseph is said to stand before Pharaoh, Gen. xli.

Ver. 21. *And Daniel continued even to the first year of king Cyrus.* i. e. Daniel lived at least to the first year of king Cyrus, and it is very probable from these words, that he lived longer, at least till the third year of king Cyrus, as appears from chap. x. i. The reason then the text takes notice that Daniel lived so long is, because it was so remarkable a year, in which Cyrus overthrew the Babylonish monarchy, and made way for fulfilling Jeremiah's Prophecy, concerning *the seventy weeks* in the return of the Jews from their captivity; which was accomplished in the said first year of king Cyrus, Ezra i. 1. the accomplishment whereof made Daniel very solicitous, chap. ix. 1, 2. In fine, if the text had directed us to the last year of Daniel's life, it would more naturally have said, *Daniel died*, or *was gathered to his fathers*, in the first year of king Cyrus, than that he continued even to the first year of king Cyrus; which imports no more than this, Daniel was *still alive* in that first year of his reign when Cyrus destroyed the Babylonish monarchy, and restored the Jews to their liberty.

CHAP. ii. This chapter contains the relation of a dream that Nebuchadnezzar had; in which he saw a great image composed of divers metals. Daniel explained the dream, which the magicians was not able to do; upon which account, the king of Babylon confess'd, that the God whom Daniel worshipped, was the true God; and then he exalted the Prophet and his three friends to great honours.

The principal reflexions then, that may be made on this chapter, are these following,

1st, That God sent Nebuchadnezzar the dream which is here related, and then permitted that prince to forget it, to the end, that he might be the better convinced of the truth of those things that Daniel should tell him, and that he might confess that this dream came from God, who only knows futurities.

2dly, The incapacity of the wise men of Babylon to relate the dream, discovers very plainly, that those people were impostors, and that none but the true God can discover hidden things.

3dly, The step that Daniel took, in interposing with the king to save the lives of the magicians, and in promising that he would expound the dream, are proofs of the charity of this Holy Man, as well as of his faith and great confidence in God.

4thly, We see how powerful the prayers of the righteous are; since God granted to the prayers of Daniel and his three friends, the revelation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream; but that which chiefly is to be observ'd, is,

5thly, The meaning of this dream, which shewed that there should be four monarchies succeeding one another; to wit, the Chaldean, the Medes and Persian, the Grecian, and the Roman; and that in the time of the fourth, the kingdom of God should be established. All those things which Daniel here foretels, do perfectly agree with that which has happen'd, and with what we see at present; wherefore we cannot sufficiently admire this noble Prophecy. And as Nebuchadnezzar, after hearing Daniel, gave glory to God, we ought to do it much more; we who have seen the accomplishment of this Prophecy, are bound to acknowledge, that there is a God who governs all things, and that his knowledge and power are infinite; and this should strongly incite us to fear and serve him.

Ver. 1. *And in the second year of the reign of king Nebuchadnezzar.* This was the fourth year according to the Scripture computation; but this difference is adjusted before in the note upon chap. i. for Daniel writing the following history in the Chaldee language, for the use of the Chaldeans, follows that computation of time, very properly, which was in use among them.

— *Nebuchadnezzar dreamed dreams.* So it is in the Chaldee; tho' it was but one continued dream, it contained divers species, divers scenes of affairs, being a description of the succession of the four monarchies, which were to continue under different forms unto the end of the world.

Ver. 2. — *The forcerers.* This word is always taken in an ill sense in Scripture by the Holy Writers, to signify those that consult with evil spirits.

— *The Chaldeans.* i. e. Astrologers; for the Chaldeans were so much addicted to the study of the Heavenly motions, and to make prognostications from thence, that the word Chaldean is used promiscuously by Greek and Latin authors, for an astrologer; see notes on chap. i. 4.

Ver. 4. *Then spake the Chaldeans to the king in Syriac.* It is here particularly to be remarked, that the Syrian and Chaldean language were the same; see Gen. xxxi. 47. 2 Kings xviii. 26. Ezra iv. 7. And this language is found in its greatest purity in the books of Daniel and Ezra. The Jews, in the time of their captivity, mixed several Hebrew words with the Chaldean language, and they came from thence to be so united, that the *Targums* upon the law and the Prophets are writ in the Chaldee, tho' it is called the Hebrew tongue in the New Testament, from which the Syriac spoken in Antioch, and other parts of Syria, differs only as a dialect, and, tho' written in a different character, is what we now call Syriac. Walton's Prolegom. ch. xiii. ad Bibl. Polyglot. and Dr. Prideaux's connect. p. 2. p. 339. Edit. prim. 8vo.

The following part of this chapter, and all the rest to the end of the seventh chapter, is writ in the Chaldee tongue; because those parts of this book, particularly re-

late to the Babylonian empire, and was probably entered in their public records.

Ver. 8. *I know of a certainty that you would gain the time.* viz. By importunately renewing your request, that I would recollect my dream, you only protract the time, and delay the execution of the sentence pronounced against you, at verse 5. Where note, that the buying or redeeming the time is a proverbial expression, signifying that such a one uses his utmost endeavours to free himself out of some imminent danger or difficulty; *gaining time*, being a considerable advantage to that purpose.

Ver. 9. *There is but one decree [or judgment] for you.* I have said, says the king, and what I have decreed, cannot be reversed; for the decrees of the Medes and Persians were unalterable. Therefore, if you don't answer my demand, the sentence of death already pronounced against you, shall certainly be put in execution.

— *Till the time be changed.* All your expectations are, that by prolonging the time, circumstances may alter, I may change my resolutions, and that possibly you may escape punishment.

Ver. 10. *Then the Chaldeans answered before the king, and said, there is no man upon earth that can declare the king's matter.* — ver. 11. *And there is none that can declare it before the king, except the gods, whose dwelling is not with flesh.* This is a plain confession of their own ignorance, who pretend to foretell future events by their skill in the motions of the stars, and to explain dreams by some natural observations; and as clear a profession that there is a God, who is a pure spirit, and knoweth all things before they come to pass, without the mediation of his creatures.

Ver. 12. *For this cause the king was angry, and very furious, and commanded to destroy all the wise men of Babylon.* The king Nebuchadnezzar, who had been brought up in a strict persuasion, that these his wise-men knew all things, and were able to interpret all dreams, grew exceeding wroth when they referred him to *the God whose dwelling is not in flesh*, whom perchance he never heard of before, to be resolved of his question, so he commanded these *wise-men* to be dragged from his presence, and to be executed according to the sentence pronounced (ver. 5.) against their incapacity.

Ver. 13. *And they sought Daniel and his fellows to be slain.* This sentence of the king being executed against those forcerers, &c. that stood in his presence; the king was not therewith content; but being convinced of their impositions on men, by pretending to foretell futurities, resolved, it may be, to abolish the whole race of magicians, &c. and therefore ordered them all to be put to death in what part soever of his dominions they were to be found; hence it is, that Daniel and his fellows were sought for to be slain, tho' they were not summoned with the wise-men of Chaldea.

Ver. 16. *Then Daniel went in and desired of the king that he would give him time.* We may suppose, that by this time, the king's passion was somewhat allwaged, and withal we are here to acknowledge the providence of God, principally, which visibly appears on this occasion to incline the king's heart to allow Daniel, who was a stranger, and one of his slaves, that favour, which he had before denied to the magicians, ver. 8, &c. But Daniel did not desire time to be given him, and his fellows, for the same purpose as the wise-men before had desired, to study, to meditate by discourse of reason, to consult books, and to try several rules of art; but to call upon the Lord with fervency and perseverance; for Daniel went to his house, and shewed the matter to his companions, *that they should beseech the God of heaven for grace in this secret*, &c. ver. 17, 18.

Ver. 20. *For wisdom and might are his.* The wisdom of God appears in his beautiful ordering the great affairs of the world; and his might or power in bringing them to pass.

Ver. 21. *And he changeth the times and the seasons, he removeth kings, and setteth up kings.* The great changes of the world are brought to pass by removing kings, and translating their dominions to others; by raising some empires, and pulling down others; of which Nebuchadnezzar's dream, which was then revealed to Daniel, was a sin-

gular instance; for it contained the succession of the four great monarchies of the world.

The Prophet speaks of the disposal of governments, as one of God's prerogatives, and the means whereby he brings to pass the most considerable changes in the affairs of the world; which ought to be a very good reason, why men ought to submit to such changes and revolutions, which are brought to pass by providence for great and wise reasons.

Ver. 22. *He knoweth what is in darkness, and the light dwelleth with him.* He knoweth the most secret things, while they yet lie hid in their causes, and can discover and bring them to light; and it is to God alone we are to ascribe all wisdom and knowledge, for it cometh of God alone that man understandeth any thing.

Ver. 25. *I have found a man of the captives of Judah that will make known to the king the interpretation.* You may read in the preceding verse, that Daniel of his own accord offered to declare the interpretation, and prayed to be brought unto the king; but this officer, Ariach, captain of the king's guard, courtier-like, takes this opportunity of ingratiating himself with the king, as if the discovery of Daniel's abilities in this kind of learning, was owing entirely to his diligence.

Ver. 27. *The soothsayers.* This word is not met with before among the several sorts of pretenders to wisdom among the Chaldeans, mentioned ver. 2. They are called in the Chaldee tongue *gazerim*, which some think answers the Latin word *aruspices*, who pretend to foretell events by tokens found in the entrails of the living creatures which they sacrificed.

Ver. 28. *But there is a God in heaven that revealeth secrets.* Daniel assumes nothing to himself, but gives the glory of all his wisdom and learning and knowledge to God alone; whose knowledge, as he tells the king, infinitely exceeds that of all the wise-men of Chaldea, and of all the demones or gods which they consulted or worshipped; and thereby puts him in mind, that the wise-men against whom he was so angry, because they could not interpret his dream, had so far spoken the truth, when they said, that there was none could declare *it before the king except the gods, whose dwelling is not with flesh*, ver. 11.

— *And maketh known to king Nebuchadnezzar what shall be in the latter days.* For God only can certainly fore-know such future events, as depend upon contingent causes, and the determination of man's free-will.

The *latter days* very often in Scripture signifies the time of the Messiah, called the *last times* or age of the world; for the Jews commonly dividing the times or accessions of the world into three ages or periods; the first before the law by Moses, the second under his law; and the third under the Messiah; this being the last dispensation, which God designed should continue till the consummation of all things, it is denoted by the Prophets under the term of the last times, or latter days. Accordingly St. Paul tells us, that Christ appeared *at the consummation of the ages*, Heb. ix. 26. or the several periods of the world; and speaking of his own times he saith, that *the ends of the world were come*, 1 Cor. x. 11. *τὴν τῶν αἰώνων, the conclusion of the ages of it.* And so the expression may be used here in the same sense to regard the days of Christ; for the Prophecy contained in this vision reacheth the times when the kingdom of the Messiah shall be set up.

Ver. 29. *As for me, this secret is not revealed to me for any wisdom that I have more than any other living, but for their sakes who shall make known the interpretation to the king.* Here Daniel first repeats, as it were his sincere acknowledgment of God's wisdom, and power, and knowledge, as at ver. 28. and then desires tacitly, that this may be a means for himself and his three friends, not only to be delivered from those that sought their lives, but also to gain an interest in the king's majesty, that they might be the better able to promote the glory of God, and to do kindness unto the rest of their captive brethren. This is the sense of the words according to the common translation; yet, I can't say, but I must in my own judgment, according to the example of many great men, prefer the marginal reading, which has it: *But for the intent that the interpretation may be made known to the king*, for the verb transitive, is often used for the impersonal.

Ver,

Ver. 31. *Thou, O king sawest, and beheld a great image, &c.*] Now in this vision of the image composed of four metals, is laid the foundation of all Daniel's Prophecies. It represents the body of four great nations, which should reign over the earth successively; viz. the Babylonians, the Persians, the Greeks and Romans. And by a stone cut out without hands, which fell upon the feet of the image, and brake all the four metals to pieces, and became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth, it further represents that a new kingdom should arise, after the four, and conquer all these nations and grow very great, and continue to the end of all ages.

The declaration and interpretation of which is as follows, with as much brevity and clearness as the subject will admit. For, it will be admirable to observe, how the prefiguration of things in this prophetic dream reaches from Nebuchadnezzar's time, not to our days only, but even to the pouring forth of the seventh vial, whereupon, all the kingdoms of the world will become the kingdom of the Lord and of his Christ.

—*Thou, O king.*] When thy thoughts came into thy mind upon thy bed, and thou didst fall into that dream, *sawest, and beheld a great image*, or great statue of a Colossian bigness, it comprehending in its extent no less than the succession of four famous empires. *This great image whose brightness was excellent*, it representing the splendor and glory of those empires it did prefigure, stood before thee. And the form thereof was terrible, setting out thereby the great fear and awe these empires, viz. the Supreme Powers therein and their ministers, cast the world into by their severity, violence and cruelty. Where I can't but observe that acute remark of Grotius, who says, that this image appear'd with a glorious lustre in the imagination of Nebuchadnezzar, because his mind was wholly taken up with admiration of worldly pomp and splendor. Whereas in another vision, chap. vii. they are resembled to wild beasts for their rage and blood-thirstiness, as the true Church of God has too often found them.

Ver. 32. *This image's head was of fine gold.*] There being a succession of four empires here to be prefigured by four kind of metals, the order of dignity or pretiosity in the metals is made use of to set out the order of time, in the succession of the empires. And therefore because gold is first in esteem amongst metals, therefore the golden part of the image the head, both because it is the head, and of gold, denotes the first empire the Church of God, or people of the Jews were concerned in, viz. The Babylonian under whom they were then captive. But as for the ten tribes they were carried away into perpetual captivity by Salmanasser king of Assyria long before, never to be heard of again, at least during the time of these four empires here prefigured. But the Jews, properly so called, were concerned first under the Babylonian empire, then under the Medo-Persian; decrees being given out, first by Cyrus, then by Artaxerxes in their behalf, though Cambyes was unkind to them. And under the great Xerxes by reason of his queen Esther, a Jew, they had a signal deliverance from their bloody enemy Haman. And how they were concerned during the Greek empire, especially under Antiochus Epiphanes, and much more under the Roman, is so notorious, that it is enough only to name it. Which reasons may suffice why no more kingdoms or empires, and why these especially, Babylonian, Medo-Persian, Greek, and Roman are comprised in this image. The first whereof was signified by the image's head of fine gold, as Daniel himself will hereafter interpret. For as the Babylonian monarchy was arrived to the height of glory under Nebuchadnezzar, See ver. 37, 38. who likewise improved the city of Babylon, as to make it one of the wonders of the world; so this empire might justly be compared to a golden head.

—*His breast and his arms of silver.*] The arm is properly that part of the body which reaches from the shoulder to the wrist, and so excludes the hand, of which there is here no mention though there be mention of feet adjoined to the legs. Which is not done by chance, but on design. For this breast, with its arms of silver, denotes the Medo-Persian empire, which consisting of two people, the Medes and Persians, they are fitly represented by these two arms, but with no mention of hands, of which the ten fingers would be the natural parts, because there was

no division of the Medo-Persian empire into ten kingdoms as there was of the Roman. And the reason why this second monarchy of the Medes and Persians was to be inferior to the first, was, probably in regard of its continuance only: So the Babylonian monarchy, if we date its beginning from Ninus, lasted above seven hundred years; whereas the Persian continued, at the most, but 228 years. See more at ver. 39.

—*His belly and his thighs of brass.*] By this belly and the two thighs of brass, is understood the Greek empire, which was *one* in Alexander, but after his death, divided more notably and durably into the two kingdoms of the Lagidæ and Seleucidæ. For, at first, there was a quadripartition of his empire, but that not lasting so long, or all parts of it being not so famous, or the Jews not so much concerned in them, this general prefiguration of the succession of the four empires, takes notice only of what is most remarkable, as those two were. The emblem of brass, as in the next verse of iron, are used in the prophetic writings to denote strength, and here more particularly the strength and power of the third and fourth monarchies, which should subdue their adversaries with irresistible force.

Ver. 33. *His legs of iron.*] Here begins the Roman empire; suppose upon Æmylius Paulus, the Roman consul, his vanquishing of Perseus, the last king of Macedonia. From which time the Roman empire in the prophetic account, may rationally seem to commence, the Greek or Macedonick empire, properly so called, being then put an end to, though other parts still remained. And here the Roman empire may very well be represented by the two legs, that state for many hundred years being generally supported by the Supreme Power of their two consuls. And so this character may be alluded to by the two legs, to understand what people is meant, though the succession of the empire commence no higher than from the vanquishing Perseus, king of Macedonia, by Æmylius the consul. Which consular power continued above an hundred years after, and the name much longer. So fit an emblem are these two legs of iron, of the people of Rome and of their empire. For they were the most famous warriors of their time, and subdued all nations under their yoke.

—*His feet part of iron, and part of clay.*] Which feet imply the ten toes which are parts of the feet, and therefore represent the Roman empire divided into ten kingdoms. Which ten kingdoms are also prefigured by the ten horns of the fourth beast, chap. vii. The division of which Roman empire into ten kingdoms happening since the empire became Christian, we may better thence understand what is meant by the feet being partly of iron, and partly of clay, namely, That in that time of the Roman empire, it was become partly ecclesiastical, and partly secular: by the iron, as before, understanding the secular power, by the clay the ecclesiastical, which in-croaching upon the secular should be the occasion of frequent clashings between them to the weakning of both parties, and endangering their breaking to pieces.

Ver. 34. *Thou sawest till a stone was cut out without hands.*] That is, besides this image and the four metal-line parts thereof, thou sawest moreover a stone cut out without hands, i. e. without the aid of man or any human art. Which stone is Christ and his true Church, himself being born in a supernatural way by the assistance also of the Holy Spirit, by real miracles, by unfeigned sanctity, and by invincible patience and suffering for the truth. Wherefore the true Christian Church, head with the members, this is that stone cut out without hands, which smote the image upon his feet, which were of iron and clay, and brake them in pieces. This true Apostolick Church, a kingdom of God's own erecting, which appeared with Christ and his Apostles, and so on in the pure Primitive times, will at last strike the image upon his feet, will break to pieces the fourth and last monarchy, in which the remainders of the other three were comprehended: And shall at length put an end to all earthly rule, authority and power, 1 Cor. xv. 24. namely, under the seventh vial, or at that war of the rider on the white horse. Wherein the beast and the false prophet (the remainder of the iron and degenerate clay) are cast into a lake of fire burning with brimstone, Apoc. xix. 21.

No. 6,

Note, The Jews unanimously agree that by the stone is here meant the Messiah; Detence of Christianity by Bp. of Litchfield and Coventry, p. 122.

Ver. 35. *Then was the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, and the gold broken to pieces together, and became like the chaff of the summer threshing-floor, and the wind carried them away that no place was found for them.* Here the expression, *became like chaff in the summer threshing-floor*, alludes to the custom of the eastern countries, who usually made their threshing-floor on the top of hills, and is used by them to express God's victory over his enemies, or the enemies of his Church. And the whole sentence together plainly answers to the casting the beast and the false prophet into the lake of fire burning with brimstone. Both places signify the utter abolishing all the idolatrous tyranny remaining in the Roman empire at that time, whether in the secular or ecclesiastical powers. But that then the clay, brass, silver, and gold are said to be broken to pieces together, that is only an embellishing of the external view of the vision. The succession of these four empires being exhibited at once, they are made also to fall to dust at once together. Besides that, the succeeding empire generally occupying the possession and territories of the antecedent, that which vanquisheth the last may in some sense be thought to vanquish them all at a clap, or to possess what any of them had. Which will be immediately made good in the next words.

—*And the stone that smote the image became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth.* That is, the true Apostolick Church purged from all superstitious, idolatrous, and tyrannical principles and practices, will, as it were, over-spread the whole world; *the kingdoms of this world*; as it is predicted in the Apocalypse, *becoming the kingdoms of the Lord, and of his Christ*. Where Christ also is described as *going forth conquering and to conquer*, Revel. vi. 2. This state of the Church may be termed *regnum montis*, the kingdom of the mountain, (as Mr. Mede has well noted) as the state before this may be called *regnum lapidis*, the kingdom of the stone. The first, commenc'd upon the erection of the fourth kingdom, while the statue continued on its feet; the other was to be manifested under its last and weakest state. Christ the foundation of the Church is often described as a *stone*, See Isa. xxviii. 16. Zech. iii. 9. And the Church in its flourishing state is represented as a mountain, Isa. ii. 2. Ezek. xx. 40. Revel. xxi. 10.

Ver. 36. *This is the dream.* Which miraculously, and by the mere inspiration of the spirit of the Most High, was communicated unto me, and which the king cannot deny but to have been the dream which he was so desirous to recover into his mind. *And we will tell the interpretation thereof before the king.* Which he may be sure is true and Divinely inspired, it being impossible any man should know the thoughts of another man, especially so strange and hard to be found as these, unless he were inspired. Whence my declaring the dream ought to be look'd upon as a certain assurance of the truth of my interpretation. But let us observe how modestly Daniel introduces this speech when he had an opportunity to take all the glory of this interpretation to himself; but he begins with a *We*, by which he allows his three friends a share in the honour of interpreting the dream; because the interpretation was obtain'd by their joint prayers to God; see ver. 18—23.

Ver. 37. *Thou, O king, art a king of kings.* That is, the greatest king on earth. So Nebuchadnezzar is stiled, Ezek. xxvi. 7. because he had kings for his vassals and tributaries, viz. Jehoiakim and Zedekiah, kings of Judah, &c. *For the God of heaven hath given thee a kingdom, power, and strength, and glory.* Thou hast a strong, potent, and glorious kingdom, and it is a gift of God unto thee, and therefore thou shouldst remember to govern as his vicegerent.

Ver. 38. *And wheresoever the children of men dwell.* viz. The cultivated places of his kingdom, *The beasts of the field*, The desert places of Arabia and Africk, says Grotius, *And the fowls of the heaven*, Invious and inaccessible rocks, where only the fowls of heaven can nest, *Hath he given into thy hand, and hath made thee ruler over them all.* All these diversities of the vast places of thy kingdom art thou Lord over. And God having given thee so large an empire, so prosperous and glorious, I declare unto thee, *Thou art this head of gold.* Which is briefly and

figuratively spoken by the figure Synecdoche or Metonymie; for, *Thou art the head of this golden kingdom of Babylon*, or, *Thou art the Lord and owner of it.* Or, whatever right thy subjects claim; either in their possessions, or in any perquisites thereunto belonging, is all held of thee; as the Supreme Lord. Just as the Lord had said by the mouth of the Prophet Jeremiah, *Now have I given all these lands into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon, my servant, and the beasts of the field, have I given him also to serve him. And all nations shall serve him*, Jer. xxvii. 6, 7. From whence we may be assured, that the head of gold signifies the Babylonian kingdom, Nebuchadnezzar being then king of Babylon, and Cyaxares the Mede conjoin'd in affinity and confederacy with Nabopalassar the father of Nebuchadnezzar, having subdued Nineveh the metropolis of the Assyrian empire, together with the empire itself some four years before, and near an hundred and twenty years after Salmanasser had taken Samaria, and carried the ten tribes away captive.

Ver. 39. *And after thee shall rise another kingdom inferior to thee.* The first empire comprised in this image being thus evidently the Babylonian, it does naturally follow that the second must be the Medo-Persian begun in Cyrus. Who first having taken Babylon, and Belshazzar the last king being slain by the Medes and Persians, whom he brought along with him, though he delivered the empire to his uncle Darius the Mede; yet he being aged, and dying within a year or two, he presently succeeded him, and became monarch of the Medes as well as Persians, himself also being a Medo-Persian by extraction: on the mother's side a Mede, and on the father's side a Persian. Whence he was called *Ἡμιον*, or a *mule*, as Grotius notes. And it has been noted above, that the coalescency of these two nations into one kingdom or empire, is signified by the silver part of the image which is the breast from which the two arms come.

The hardest scruple is, how this Medo-Persian Empire should be said to be less than that of Nebuchadnezzar's, the Babylonian, (see ver. 32.) there being the accession of Persia, and all the acquisitions of Cyrus added thereto. Grotius his answer is, *Quia Cyrus & successores ejus Africam non tenuerunt.* Gasper Sanctius, That there was not that pacateness nor tranquillity in the Medo-Persian empire that there was in the Babylonian, or so continued prosperity and success. Calvin makes one empire inferior to another, (as the metals are from gold to iron,) in morality, temperance, justice, faithfulness, &c. according to that vulgar opinion expressed in Horace, *Carm. lib. 3. od. 6.*

*Ætas parentum peior avis tulit
Nos nequiores mox daturos
Progeniem vitiosorem.*

*Time sensibly all things impairs,
Our fathers have been worse than theirs;
And we, than ours, next age will see
A race more profligate than we.*

Roscommon.

Whence sprung that poetical description of the world's degenerating according to the four ages thereof, from gold to silver, from silver to brass, and from brass to iron. Which in all likelihood was more particularly occasioned from Nebuchadnezzar's dream of this image of those four metals, antiquity not understanding the true sense thereof.

But it is possible that forasmuch as it is read, *And after thee shall arise another kingdom inferior to thee*; that [to thee,] is here on purpose put for [to thine,] that the first head of this following kingdom might be understood to be more especially compared with him, in which there seems apparent odds. For Cyrus the first head of the Medo-Persian monarchy or empire reigned not past two or three years in that enlarged empire, and not passing thirty in his kingdom of Persia, whereas Nebuchadnezzar in his Babylonian empire reigned three and forty years most splendidly and prosperously, insomuch that the excess of his prosperity cast him into that septennial madness, when he fancied himself an ox, out of which he was recovered and gave praise to the God of Heaven. But Cyrus as he reigned but a small time in the Medo-Persian empire, so he was vanquished ingloriously, says Justin, by the hand of a woman, *Tomyris*, a Scythian queen, who cut off his head and cast

it into a vessel of blood, saying, *Satia te, Cyre, sanguine, quem sisti.* But whether this way, or that way, please best, to make the easiest sense of the text, it is unavoidably plain, that this second monarchy is the Medo-*Perſian*, nor does any interpreter doubt of it. *And another third kingdom of braſs.* This ſhews plainly, that the golden, ſilver, and braſs parts of the image, ſignify three diſtinct kingdoms. But now it is evident in hiſtory, that as the Medo-*Perſian* empire ſucceeded the Babylonian, ſo the Macedonick, or Grecian, ſucceeded the Medo-*Perſian*. For Alexander Macedo, after he had vanquiſhed Darius Codomannus in his laſt battle at Arbela, (Darius being ſlain ſome ſix months after by Beſſus, one of the peers of his own empire, and Babylon taken,) tranſlated the monarchy from the Medes and Perſians to the Greeks, about the third year of the 112 Olympiad. And that the Greek empire was not unſtly ſet out by the two thighs of braſs, by reaſon of thoſe two moſt eminent parts of it, into which after Alexander's death it was divided, and ſtood ſo divided for a long time, namely, the two kingdoms of the *Lagide* and *Seleucide*, I have noted above. And it may not be altogether impertinent to note alſo, what Juſtin writes, lib. 12. *Ea die qua natus eſt Alexander duæ Aquilæ tota die præſeſſes ſuper culmen domus patris ejus ſederunt, omen duplicis imperii Europæ Afique præſerentes, i. e.* It was obſerved that on the day that Alexander was born, two eagles ſat the whole day upon his father's houſe, which were an omen, that he ſhould be poſſeſſed of the two empires of Europe and Aſia. *Which ſhall bear rule over all the earth.* So it is ſaid of him, 1 *Maccab. i.* *He made many wars, and won many ſtrong holds, and ſlew the kings of the earth, and went through to the ends of the earth.* And ſo Juſtin, lib. 12. From the utmoſt coaſts of the ocean were embaſſies ſent to him returning to Babylon, both of the Carthaginians and other cities of Africk, yea of Spain, Sicily, France, Sardinia. And ſome alſo from Italy expected his return to Babylon; *Adeo univerſum terrarum orbem nominis ejus terror invaſerat, ut cunctæ gentes voluti deſtinato ſibi regi adularentur, i. e.* The terror of his name poſſeſſed the whole world in ſuch a manner, that all nations made their court to him, as to their appointed king and governor. Which is enough to ſhew how well this prediction ſuits with the event.

Ver. 40. *And the fourth kingdom ſhall be as ſtrong as iron, &c.]* That this fourth kingdom is the Roman, is manifeſt from hence, that it ſucceeds the Greek empire; which it may ſeem moſt properly firſt to ſeize upon, when Æmylius Paulus the Roman conſul had vanquiſhed Perſeus the laſt king of Macedonia. But about an age after the kingdoms of the *Lagide* and *Seleucide*, thoſe two eminent parts or thighs, rather of the Macedonick or Greek empire, were ſubdued alſo by the Romans. The laſt of the *Seleucide* or kings of Syria, Tigranes, was vanquiſhed by Pompey, and Syria reduced into a province; as alſo Ægypt by Auguſtus, when he had vanquiſhed Antonius the huſband of Cleopatra, daughter of Ptolemaus Aules, the laſt but one of the *Lagide*, or kings of Ægypt. J. Foy, *Vaillant hiſtoria regu. Syriæ*, p. 388, &c. *Numiſmata. Par. 4to.* Whence it is plain, that the Roman ſucceeds the Greek empire, as the Greek the Medo-*Perſian*, and that therefore this is the fourth kingdom prefigured by the image of the four ſeveral metals. And the genius of the Roman empire, the former days of it eſpecially, ſuits well with this metal, they being not only full of courage and valour, but alſo hardy, rigid, ſevere, and indeed cruel. They that are any thing verſed in hiſtory, will eaſily acknowledge this a fitting character. To which you may add what is intimated in the text, namely, that as iron can cut, and form, and ſubdue all thoſe three firſt metals, gold, ſilver and braſs, ſo the Roman empire could vanquiſh and ſubdue all thoſe regions wherein the Babylonian, Medo-*Perſian*, and Grecian empire was ſpread. Which feat not being done by the kingdoms of the *Lagide* and *Seleucide*, it is impoſſible they ſhould be the fourth kingdom of Daniel. And beſides this, we may be infallibly ſure that the fourth kingdom is the Roman, in that the ſtone cut out without hands happened, during the Roman empire, (and it muſt happen in ſome of the four kingdoms according to the viſion,) and not during the kingdom of the *Lagide* and *Seleucide*. *Foraſmuch as iron breaketh in pieces and ſubdueth all things, and as iron breaketh all theſe, viz.* All theſe metals, gold, ſilver and

braſs, *ſhall it*, this Roman kingdom or empire, *break in pieces and bruſe*, the countries and people which the Babylonian, Medo-*Perſian*, and Grecian empires had ruled over.

Here I ſhall note, that the reaſon why the ſpirit of God takes notice of theſe monarchies rather than of any others, is becauſe God's people were ſubjects to theſe monarchies ſucceſſively; and ſo in their ſucceſſion a line of time is carried on to the coming of Chriſt, who was to appear in the times of the fourth monarchy, and the countries belonging to it were to be the chief ſeat of Chriſt's kingdom; as Mr. Mede rightly obſerves in his diſſertation upon this ſubject.

Ver. 41. *And whereas thou ſaweſt the ſet and toes, &c.]* Here is mention made of *toes* with the *ſet*, which juſtifies our expoſition above, ver. 33. But now we are come hither, we muſt remember we are come unto that period of the Roman empire when it was divided into *ten kingdoms*, which are intimated by the *ten toes* of the ſtatue. Which *ten toes* answer to the *ten horns* of the beaſt actually crowned. Which is the time that the *two horned beaſt* riſes out of the earth; ſo it is ſaid, *Apoc. xiii.* And why not cut of a *white clayey clammy earth*, ſuch as potters make uſe of, as well as out of any other earth beſide. And no man, I think, while he conſiders that the *iron* here ſignified *men*, a body politick of them, can ſtick to admit that this *clay* does ſignify ſo likewiſe. But there being ſo palpable a difference betwixt *iron* and *clay*, it is manifeſt that there muſt be as great a difference between theſe two bodies politick, the one ſignified by the *iron*, the other by the *clay*; the former ſuppoſe the ſecular power, the latter the eccleſiaſtical; as it is ſaid of the papal hierarchy, which is the little horn, chap. vii. 24. That that horn or king ſhall be different from the reſt, which diverſification here betwixt the ſecular and eccleſiaſtical power, ſignified by the *iron* and the *clay*, need not be expreſſed in words, the ſymbols themſelves being apparently different.

— *Part of potters clay and part of iron.]* That is, partly of ſuch clammy white clay as potters make uſe of, and partly of iron; which implies, that by that time the empire was divided into ten kingdoms, the *ſumma poteſtas* began to be neither in the ſecular power abſolutely, nor in the hierarchical, but they were ſo mingled together that it was not compleat or full without both concurring; the eccleſiaſtick power getting ſuch a hank upon the ſecular, *in ordine ad ſpiritualia*, the effects whereof in a ſhort time appeared with a witneſs.

— *The kingdom ſhall be divided.]* That is, the power will be divided or ſhared between the papal or ſacerdotal hierarchy, and the ſecular orders of emperors and kings. For the *iron* and *clay* cannot ſtand for the diviſion of the empire into *ten kingdoms*, for that the *ten toes* prefigure, but the ſharing the *ſumma poteſtas*, or ſupreme power, betwixt the ſecular magiſtrate and papal, or ſacerdotal hierarchy.

— *But there ſhall be in it of the ſtrength of the iron, foraſmuch as thou ſaweſt the iron mixed with the miry clay.]* That is to ſay, the ſword-men or ſecular power of the ten kings was ſo aſſured to the maintaining the power and the inſtitutes of the papal hierarchy (though never ſo foul or idolatrous, ſo they made for the ſacerdotal worldly intereſt) that the papal empire, or the empire framed according to that pattern and ſcope, was as it were ſtrengthened with iron. Which is that which is intimated *Apoc. xvii. 12.* where the ten kings are ſaid to give their ſtrength and power to the *beaſt that was, and is not, and yet is*. Which is the empire reſaſhioned again into a Pagan-like idolatrous form, for the worldly advantage of the *papal hierarchy*. Thus was the *iron* mixed with the *miry clay*, the ten kings cleaving ſo cloſe to the intereſt of the papal idolatrous clergy.

Ver. 42. *And as the toes of the ſet were part of iron, and part of clay.]* And, as every one of thoſe ten kingdoms conſiſted of temporal power and eccleſiaſtical, the papal hierarchy being branched through all the ten kingdoms till the reformation: *So the kingdom ſhall be partly ſtrong, and partly broken*; that is, the Roman empire divided into theſe ten kingdoms ſhall be partly ſtrong, and partly brittle; the papal power weakening the civil power of each kingdom, and occaſioning many breaches and jars in Chriſtendom, which has been too fully accompliſhed, to be denied in England, and eſpecially in moſt parts of Germany and France; ſee note on ver. 43.

Ver.

Ver. 43. *And whereas thou sawest iron mixt with miry clay.] i. e. I shall tell thee the reason of it by what means it came to pass in that measure it did; They shall mingle themselves with the seed of men; so our English renders it, With the seed of men.* The septuagint, *ἐν σπέρματι ἀνθρώπων*. By this interpreters usually understand alliance by marriages, whereby one kingdom may be more surely obliged to keep peace and amity with another. But *dominandi cupido cunctis affectibus flagrantior est, i. e. the desire of rule is man's prevailing passion*, as the historian observes. And if this may go for a good sense as to the fodering of the ten kings one to another, the iron to the iron, yet we are to consider that the text here speaks of the iron being mixt with clay, and how they come to unite. They shall mingle one with another, saith he, *ἐν σπέρματι ἀνθρώπων*. It might as well be rendred, *ἐν σπέρματι ἀνθρώπων, in sementi hominum*, that is, by placing of men in seminaries, where they shall be so brought up, informed and instructed, suppose in convents, monasteries, and other such like places, that they shall be made notable instruments, so to insinuate into the secular powers, and also into the people as to engage their affections to his Holiness, the great ecclesiastick sovereign, and to all the rites, institutes, and doctrines that are fittest to support that papal greatness. The propagation and dissemination of such instruments as these, I conceive to be alluded to, as if he should say, they shall mingle one with another, agree or unite together, (*ἐν σπέρματι ἀνθρώπων, or ἐν σπέρματι*, for so the Hebrew may signify,) *by the sowing or planting of men in the seminaries* as said above, fitting them for the foresaid purpose: the more brisk, cunning, and genteel attacking princes and great men; and other monks, priests, and friars hanging fast on the people, and fawning upon them, and keeping warm in them all the modes of idolatry and superstition, and all the principles and practices that may be gainful to the papal hierarchy. Thus says Dr. More on this place, p. 21. the clay sticks to the iron as well as it can. And this interpretation is most consonant to history; for as Sir Edwin Sandys shews in his *Speculum Europe*, the pope takes fast hold of the secular parry, or civil power, by the activity and sedulity of the monks and friars, and other emissaries educated in, and sent out of his seminaries for that purpose. For, the religion that is taught in those seminaries, being framed more for the support of the papal power, and worldly interest of his church, than for the direction of devout souls in the way to eternal life; those that come out of those seminaries to instruct the people, as they term it, do not the work of God, but of the pope; to whose obedience they endeavour to bind their converts, and so make the iron stick to the clay. Though I don't entirely lay aside that other interpretation of this place, which says, these ten kingdoms shall be a medley of people of different nations, laws and customs; and altho' the kings of the different nations shall strive to strengthen themselves by marriage-alliances into one another's families; yet the different interests, which they pursue, will make them often engage in wars with each other, and thereby weaken the common strength.

— *But they shall not cleave (so very firmly) one to another, even as iron is not mixed with clay.]* And what bickerings and clashings there have been between these two powers, the secular and ecclesiastick in particular kingdoms, the chronicles of each kingdom will declare: As also what combats there have been between the pope and the emperors, both Greek and German, is notoriously known to all. I will only cite one passage out of *The defence of the right of kings*, written by king James the first of England: "Let histories be searched, saith he, let just accounts be taken, and beside many sieges laid to cities, it will appear by true computation, that Henry the fourth, and Frederick the first, fought above threecore battles in defence of their own right against the enemies of the empire, stirred up to arms by the popes of Rome." And indeed the dealings and usurpations of that hierarchy grew so intolerable that many kingdoms at last shook them off, and would admit the papal authority and religion no longer. Whereby was manifestly fulfilled which is here predicted by Daniel, *That they shall not cleave one to another, even as iron is not mixed with clay.* It is an unnatural and heterogeneous union, and therefore not durable and permanent. This passage therefore in Daniel seems to answer to that in the Apocalypse, chap. xvii. 16. *And the ten horns*

which thou sawest upon the beast they shall hate the whore, and make her desolate and naked, &c.] Which was performed in some measure in the happy reformation begun in Luther's days, and has been so well carried on in this kingdom, and the dominions thereof; and when there will be a further accomplishment of it, lies wholly in the pleasure of the Almighty.

Ver. 44. *And in the days of these kings shall the God of Heaven set up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed.]* After Daniel in his interpretation has gone through all the empires comprised in that image which Nebuchadnezzar saw from head to foot, now he begins to explain the mystery of the stone cut out without hands; whereby is understood Christ, with his truly pure Apostolick Church. Wherefore by [*in the days of these kings*] must be understood in the days of the fourth monarchy, viz. in the time of the Roman empire. For Christ was born, and his Gospel divulged, and his Church first gathered in that time, as every body must acknowledge. And the seventy weeks plainly carry to that time also. But now this pure Church of Christ being called the kingdom which the God of Heaven shall set up, we may observe from hence, how in our Saviour Christ's preaching and mentioning the kingdom of Heaven and the kingdom of God, that it had a respect to this Prophecy: And the use of those phrases with him does further ratify our interpreting it thus, of the appearance of Christ with his true Church. Which is rightly called the kingdom of Heaven or of God, because the raising of it was by the special miraculous power of the God of Heaven. And the administration of this his true Church is by his Spirit from above in the hearts of his true believers. God does truly rule there by his Spirit, whence it is rightly called the kingdom of God: *Which shall never be destroyed.* The gates of hell shall never prevail against it. The true and living Church which the Spirit of Christ actuates, shall never fail. It is an everlasting kingdom, not like the kingdoms of this world, as just described, not subject to change and dissolution, but like unto God the author of it, eternal and unchangeable; see chap. vii. 14, 27.

— *And the kingdom shall not be left to other people.]* The Persians succeeded the Babylonians; the Greeks the Persians; and the Romans the Greeks; but no empire nor any people shall succeed, the true Christian Church, which is the kingdom of God, which either as *regnum lapidis, i. e. the kingdom of the stone*, or else as *regnum montis, i. e. the kingdom of the mountain*, will last to the end of the world.

— *But it shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms.]* When it has become *regnum montis*, it will have overspread, and will possess, and keep in rule all the countries that the four great monarchies, signified by the statue, had occupied. And the three former kingdoms being as it were incorporated into the fourth, or because the four kingdoms are in this image exhibited at once, the kingdom of the mountain, for the embellishing the external view of the vision, is said to break in pieces and consume all the other kingdoms together, striking the image on the toes as I noted above, at ver. 34. *And it shall stand for ever*, according as it is said, Revel. xi. 16. *The kingdoms of the world are become the kingdoms of the Lord, and he shall reign for ever and ever.*

Ver. 45. *Forasmuch as thou sawest that the stone was cut out of the mountain without hands.]* Here first observe the meaning of the phrase, *without hands*, it denotes an act of God's immediate power brought to pass, without the interposition of second causes: so the Heavenly body we are to receive at the resurrection is called, *a building not made with hands*, 2 Cor. v. 1. The same expression is used concerning the *Heavenly tabernacle*, Heb. ix. 11, 24. in opposition to buildings of human structure: so then the sense of the text is: forasmuch as the state of the true Church of Christ is the absolute work of God, carried on by his special providence, not by human arts or policies, and that it was thus begun, and that he is with his Church to the end of the world: *And that it broke in pieces the iron, the brass, the clay, and the silver, and the gold:* And forasmuch as thou sawest the stone cut out of the mountain without hands to do this: Thou art to understand it of the true Church of Christ thus supernaturally begun, and as supernaturally emerging to this glorious issue at last. For as the stone was cut out without hands, so it will be carried

carried without hands to smite the image on the feet, by the power and conduct of the Spirit of Christ, who will then open a door of success that no man shall be able to shut, as it is said to the church of Philadelphia; considering, I say, that omnipotency itself is the spring of this motion, and that it does not depend on the humours and purposes of men, I can of a truth declare unto the king that, *the great God hath made known to the king what shall come to pass hereafter*, or after this, or after the demolition of all these four empires, the vision reaching to the end of the world, which that expected glorious state of the true Church will precede, when the *kingdom of the stone* cut out of the mountain, that is, out of the Roman empire, shall itself become the *kingdom of the mountain*, and fill the whole earth, when that state of the glorious and pure Church shall spread over all.

— *And the dream is certain, and the interpretation thereof sure.*] And more particularly touching that excellent state of the Church concerning which it is said, Rev. xxi. 5. *And he that sat upon the throne said, Behold, I make all things new. And he saith unto me write, for these words are true and faithful. And he said unto me, it is done. I am alpha and omega, the beginning and the end*, the dream that he has interpreted is certain, especially the most concerning part thereof, the glory and prosperity of the true Church of Christ, it being to be achieved by the irresistible power of the Lord Jesus, when he shall come with his Holy Angels, and destroy all those who carry not his mark on their foreheads.

Ver. 46. *Then the king Nebuchadnezzar fell on his face and worshipped Daniel, and commanded that they should offer an oblation and sweet odours unto him.*] Doing reverence by protestation is not only an act of worship paid to God, but often given to kings and great men in the Old Testament according to the custom of the eastern countries; see 2 Sam. ix. 6. xiv. 33. It was likewise an expression of reverence paid to Prophets, on account of the sanctity of their office, and not refused by them; see 1 Kings xviii. 7. Of this kind probably was the worship paid by the leper to Christ, whom he took for a Prophet, Matt. viii. 2. but when other circumstances were added to it, which made it look like Divine Worship, then it was refused to be accepted, as in the case of Peter, Acts x. 25. and of the Angel, Revel. xix. 10. The adoration here described seems to have been of the latter kind, being joined with offering incense, which is an act of worship peculiar to God alone; see Ezra vi. 10. for which reason it is highly probable, that Daniel refused the honours offered to him, and put the king in mind that he should give God the glory, as we find he does in the following verse. Nebuchadnezzar seems in a sudden transport to look upon Daniel, as having something more than human in him; see chap. iv. 9. just as the Barbarians thought of Paul, Acts xxviii. 6.

Ver. 47. *Of a truth it is, that your God is God of gods, and Lord of kings.*] Superior to all the gods or demons, who are worshipped in my kingdoms: I believe him to be the Supreme Lord and governor of the world; and ruler of all the kings and kingdoms therein; see ver. 21.

Ver. 48. *Then the king made Daniel—ruler over the whole province of Babylon.*] When the empire came under the government of the Medes and Persians, every province had a prince or ruler over it, chap. iv. 1. This probably might have been practised before, only afterwards improved by the addition of three presidents over the rest, *ib.* ver. 2. and chap. v. 7.

Ver. 49.—*Daniel sat in the gate of the king.*] The king, however he had promoted Daniel to the greatest honours and power in his kingdom, would not part with him from his presence, but had him daily attending on his royal person at the king's court; see Esther ii. 19, 21. iii. 2.

CHAP. iii. King Nebuchadnezzar causes a great image of gold to be made, and commands that all the world should worship it; which the three friends of Daniel having refused to do, the king caused them to be thrown into a furnace of fire; but God preserved them miraculously, inasmuch that Nebuchadnezzar, being struck with wonder, confessed, declared, and publish'd the power of the true God.

In this remarkable history you may observe these four things chiefly:

1st, The folly, pride and impiety of Nebuchadnezzar, in setting up this golden image, and in commanding all his subjects, upon pain of death to worship it. Here we have the picture of haughty, idolatrous and persecuting princes.

2dly, The admirable constancy and generous resolution of the three Hebrews, who, without hesitating, answered the king, that they would not adore that image, and chose rather to be thrown into the fiery furnace, than to obey his commands. Here is a noble example to teach us, that neither the fear nor even death itself, should ever induce us to sin against God; and that we ought boldly to expose our lives for his glory, and in the defence of the true religion, when we are call'd to it.

3dly, We have seen that the Chaldeans, who cast the three Hebrews into the furnace, were themselves consumed by the flames, but that Daniel's three friends were wonderfully preserved by the Angel of the Lord, inasmuch that the fire did them not the least harm. Here you may see how God punish'd those idolaters, and rewarded the zeal and piety of his servants. You see also, that God never wants power to deliver those that suffer for his sake; that he supports his children in the midst of their afflictions; that he is with them in the greatest dangers, and gives them a happy issue from them.

Lastly, The homage that Nebuchadnezzar paid to Almighty God, and the praises he gave to the faithfulness of the three Hebrews, should make us acknowledge, that it is this great God alone who does marvellous things; and that he displays his powers chiefly for the sake of those who serve him faithfully, and put their firm trust in him.

Ver. 1. *Nebuchadnezzar made an image of gold, the height whereof was threescore cubits, and the breadth sixty cubits.*] This image was most probably from the representation, not of Bel, the god of the Chaldeans, who could not inspire the magicians, &c. with the dream of the king, and the interpretation thereof, but of the living God, who had inspired Daniel to make known his dream, and of whom the king Nebuchadnezzar says at the forty-seventh verse of the precedent chapter, *of a truth it is, that your God is a God of gods, and a Lord of kings.*

As to the proportion of this figure; it seems to have been a very irregular figure, no man's height being above six times his thickness. This makes interpreters generally understand these *sixty cubits* of the height of the image and of the pedestal taken together: Of which the learned Dr. Prideaux writes in this manner: "Nebuchadnezzar's golden image is said, indeed, in Scripture to have been *sixty cubits*, i. e. ninety feet high, but that must be understood of the image and pedestal together. For, that image being said to have been but six cubits broad or thick, it is impossible that the image could have been sixty cubits high; For that makes its height to be ten times its breadth or thickness, which exceeds all the proportions of a man, no man's height being above six times his thickness, measuring the slenderest man living at his waist. But where the breadth of this image was measured is not said; perchance it was from shoulder to shoulder, and then the proportion of six cubits breadth will bring down the height exactly to the measure of forty feet high, which is the measure given by Diodorus Siculus to the image, which Xerxes took out of the temple of Bel in Babylon, which might perchance be that, which Nebuchadnezzar consecrated in the plains of Dura. For the usual height of a man being four and a half of his breadth between his shoulders, if the image were *six cubits* broad between the shoulders, it must according to this proportion have been twenty-seven cubits high, which is forty feet and an half. —But if we advance the height of the statue to ninety feet without the pedestal, it will in proportion increase the value to a sum incredible, and therefore it is necessary to take the pedestal also into the height mentioned by Daniel," in this place; Script. Connect. page 79, 80. part 1. fol.

Ver. 2. *Then Nebuchadnezzar sent to gather the princes, the governors, and the captains, &c.*] It will be of no great consequence to enter into a particular criticism about the distinction of these titles; it will, I think, be enough to observe, that upon this great emergency, this revolution, or, as it were, a reformation of the religion of Nebuchadnezzar, who had erected, or did intend to erect

immediately an image to the God of Heaven, whom the subjects of his land had not worshipped before, the king called together all his great men to concur in this action, well knowing, that if he could keep them in awe, and bring them to do his will, the inferior subjects would soon follow the example of their leaders and governors. Therefore,

I shall only note, that from the first word *abashdarpamaia*, i. e. *princes*, the word *satrapas* is derived, which is commonly taken for a word of Persian original, but was probably first used among the Assyrians and Babylonians, and from thence derived into the Persian language.

Ver. 3. *And they came and stood before the image which Nebuchadnezzar had set up.*] i. e. They obeyed the summons of the king; and came to the plains of Dura; and shewed themselves ready to perform the worship required of them from their sovereign.

Ver. 4. *O people, nations, and languages.*] i. e. All ye from what parts soever of this vast empire ye come, or whatever language you speak; which is a boasting introduction to the following decree, designed to exact the greatness of their king, by setting forth the largeness and extent of the Babylonish empire, which was composed of subjects of so many different languages.

Ver. 5. *That at what time ye hear the sound of the cornet, harp, &c.*] Some of the names of these instruments have a great affinity to the Greek words of the same signification, as the word *karna*, which is Chaldee, for *cornet*, with *xygas*, &c. This, some account for, supposing that the traffick managed by the Phœnicians with Greece (see Ezek. xxvii. 13) and the transplanting of the Eolian and Ionian colonies into Asia, which happened about an age after the destruction of Troy, brought these and other Greek words into the eastern parts of the world.—But it is more probable, that these words were translated from the eastern languages into Greece. This is taken for granted in the word *sambuca*, which is derived into Greek from the Chaldee *sabca* mentioned in the text, &c. This opinion is confirmed by the testimony of Strabo, lib. x. 471. who saith, "That the names of musical instruments, as *nablia*, *sambuca*, and *barbitos*, were derived from barbarous languages," by which term the Greeks are well known to mean the eastern tongues; and Athanasius speaks to the same purpose, lib. iv. c. 23. and lib. xiv. c. 5.

Ver. 6.—*Shall the same hour.*] This is the first place in the Old Testament where we meet with the division of time into *hours*; the invention of which division is by the Greeks ascribed to Aneximander or Aneximenes; who, probably learned it from the Chaldeans; see Herodot. lib. ii. c. 109.

—*Be cast into the midst of a burning fiery furnace.*] The Babylonians were accustomed to use this punishment of burning offenders alive; witness that passage of Jeremiah xxix. 22. *The Lord make thee like Zedekiah, and like Abab, whom the king of Babylon roasted in the fire.* And

Ver. 7. *All the people fell down and worshipped the golden image, &c.*] The paying of Divine Honours to the images of d i f f e r e n t men was a piece of worship generally practised among the Chaldeans as well as other heathens; as may be easily collected from Isa. xlv. 1. Jer. x. 2—11. and 1. 2. And herein particularly was the idolatry committed in this case; Nebuchadnezzar was convinced from the interpretation of his dream by Daniel, that his God, was the God of gods, but being clogged with the thick darkness of superstition and idolatry, his understanding could not apprehend, how this God of Daniel was to be worshipped (as we are taught by his revelation, *in spirit and truth*) and therefore according to the custom of his religion, he ordered an image to be made of the best metal, (*gold*) and to excel all others in grandeur, to signify his earnest desire to worship the God that is above all, and excelleth all in wisdom and majesty; yet this was no better than idolatry, because God has commanded that his creatures shall not worship him by any *graven image*, Exod. xx. 3.

Ver. 12.—*They serve not thy gods, &c.*] The word in the original which is here translated *gods*, is rather to be rendered *thy God*: For the image represented but one single object of worship; so the word is rendered, chap. i. 2. and so it should be translated, Exod. xxxii. 4. This is thy God, O Israel, as the same words are rendered, Nehem.

ix. 18. For Aaron and his wife designed to worship the true God by the emblem of the golden calf, and accordingly proclaimed a feast to the Lord, ver. 5. Which makes good my interpretation, that Nebuchadnezzar ignorantly worshipped the living God by this golden image, which he ordered to be made, and Daniel and his companions refused to worship before that image because it was forbidden them by their law, Exod. xx. 3, &c. and therefore they were accused before the king in the words of the text, *they serve not thy gods*, in the heathen phrase; for they won't worship thy god, or this image of gold, which thou, O king, hast set up and dedicated to the God of gods.

Ver. 15.—*And who is that God that shall deliver you out of my hand?*] These are the words of Nebuchadnezzar tampering with Daniel's companions to make them worship the image which he had erected; where he speaks in the haughty stile of the heathens, who having gross and carnal ideas of a god, upon occasion would, as the king doth in this place, exalt himself above God Almighty, as Sennacherib had done before him, saying: *Who are they among all the gods of the nations, that have delivered their country out of my hand, that the Lord should deliver Jerusalem out of mine hand?* But that Nebuchadnezzar should boast himself in this manner, is the more surprising, because he had made an ample confession of the true God at ch. ii. 47.

Ver. 16.—*We are not careful to answer thee in this matter.*] The matter here in question was, whether these Jews should worship God by an image of gold, or as the text before expresses it, whether they, as all the people did, (ver. 7.) would fall down on their faces, and worship with Divine Honours, *the golden image?* or, *be cast into the midst of a burning fiery furnace*, ver. 6. The companions of Daniel reply to this question in the words of the text: Where by those words, *we are not careful to answer*, they intimate that the case is so plain, that it needs no deliberation, for here they are to obey God or man; God, who had threatened them with eternal punishment if they broke his command not to worship an image, Exod. xx. and man, who threatened them with immediate death if they would not break the command of God by worshipping a golden image; so that their answer was ready at hand, as it should be in all like cases with us, that *we ought to obey God rather than man*. And that really upon a principle of interest: Because as it follows,

Ver. 17. *Our God whom we serve is able to deliver us—and he will deliver us out of thine hand.*] He is above man, and is able to deliver us from all persecutions and oppressions by his sole power in despite of the strength and counsel of man: And we trust in his mercy and goodness, that he will deliver us out of this imminent danger.

This was spoken by the three children out of a well-grounded hope; not from a certain foresight of being delivered: For such an assurance would have defeated the worth of their courage and constancy in despising the danger which threatened them.

Ver. 25.—*And the form of the fourth is like the son of God.*] Or like a son of the gods; or like some young god; most bright, beautiful, and Divine. Such were the gross opinions of the heathens relating to the Deity. But the doubtful words in the heathen kings speech, have been well interpreted by the ancients, some of whom understand him here to mean an Angel, ver. 28. where he is expressly called the *Angel of God*, who is here called the *son of God*; as also Angels are called the sons of God in Job i. 6. and xxxviii. 7. because, says the author of the Assembly Annotations, Angels do bear a form and likeness of God, and are God's ministers and messengers, as the word doth signify, sent by him to do his will, and deliver his servants, Acts xii. 7—12. And though this might be said by Nebuchadnezzar from some reflection on the discourse which he had with Daniel about religion, and so nothing more was meant by him than an *Angel*, yet we may take the words literally, and, without prejudice or wresting the Scripture, understand this fourth to be the *very true son of God*, our Saviour Christ, who is present with, and always supports and defends his servants in their extremities, which they suffer for his name's sake.

Ver. 26.—*Ye servants of the most high God, &c.*] This is a repetition of the king's former confession, ver. 47. of the 2d chapter, which he made of the true God, extorted

now from him by the convictive force of a wonderful miracle, that baffled his boasting, at ver. 15. And as they, the three children had said, delivered them out of the fiery furnace. Thus, God in his gracious goodness, convicts the conscience, and does sometimes miraculously force great men to honour him and his servants.

— *Come forth.*] This is the order of the king, who in his pride had commanded them to be thrown in. And no doubt he speaks this order, with the greatest submission to, and acknowledgment of, God's power, who had rendered his commandment of none effect, by suspending the execution of so unjust a sentence.

Ver. 28. — *Blessed be the God of Shadrach, &c.*] Here we see the heathen was moved by the evidence of so great a miracle to give praise to God, who had done it; but his heart was not yet thoroughly touched, he departed not from his false worship. So that we may observe, that miracles are not sufficient to convert men to God, Deut. xxix. 3, 4. but that the doctrine, and the saving-grace and power of God, must be adjoined, without which there can be no real faith and true conversion, though for a while the heart, like Nebuchadnezzar's, may be brought to repentance, and good resolutions.

Ver. 30. *Then the king promoted Shadrach, &c.*] Or, rather, *restored* them to their former places and dignities; so Lud. de Dieu. explains the Chaldee verb *Hatsilach*. The Greek interpreter adds at the end of the verse, "and he advanced them to be governors over all the Jews, who were in his kingdom."

CHAP. IV. This chapter consists of three parts, viz.

1st, The account of a dream that king Nebuchadnezzar had of a great tree, whose branches was cut off.

2dly, The interpretation that Daniel gave of the dream, telling him that he should be driven from his kingdom, and be re-established afterwards.

3dly, The accomplishment of the dream, and of all that Daniel had foretold him. From which we may raise the following reflections. 1st, From that which happen'd to Nebuchadnezzar when he was in the height of his glory we learn, that prosperity is a dangerous state; that we easily fall from thence into pride and forgetfulness of God; and that it is then he threatens us most with his judgments. 2dly, From God's warning Nebuchadnezzar by a dream, and by the interpretation which Daniel gave him, of the things that were about to befall him, and the wholesome advice given to him by the same Prophet, we learn that God, out of his loving-kindness, warns men of their approaching miseries, and teaches them how they may avoid them.

3dly, From the counsel which Daniel gave to the king, to break off his sins by righteousness, and his iniquities, by shewing mercy to the poor, we learn to break off, by all possible means, from the sins we have committed, and especially by works of charity.

4thly, From the punishment of Nebuchadnezzar, who was driven out of his senses, and forced to live like the beasts, at the time of his greatest prosperity, we learn (as himself owns) that God is almighty, that he does whatsoever he pleases; that he exalts and abases whom he will, and particularly, that he is just, and knows how to humble the proud.

Lastly, We have seen how Nebuchadnezzar recover'd his senses, and humbled himself, and even gave publick tokens of his repentance, and of the fear he had of the true God. Hence we learn how God's chastisements bring men to themselves; how the Lord is appeased toward sinners that humble themselves, and how he makes them partake of the effects of his mercy.

Ver. 1. *Nebuchadnezzar the king unto all people, nations, and languages, &c.*] This chapter contains a recital of the very words of that edict or proclamation which Nebuchadnezzar published after his restoration, for the greater confirmation of the truth of the event here related.

Ver. 4. *I Nebuchadnezzar was at rest in my house, and flourishing in my palace.*] I who am stiled the king of kings, thought myself secure in my enjoyments, and at full ease and prosperity in my palace at Babylon, which was built with that state and magnificence, as to be reckoned one of the wonders of the world, ver. 30. And here we are to remark, that God's particular judgments often resemble the general one, in their coming suddenly and un-

expectedly; when men indulge themselves in their carnal security.

Ver. 8. *Whose name was Belshazzar, &c.*] See the note upon chap. i. ver. 7.

— *And in whom is the spirit of the holy Gods.*] Who is enlightened by the Gods, or Heavenly Powers, with a supernatural degree of knowledge, such as none of the wise-men of Babylon can attain unto by their learning.

Ver. 9. *O Belshazzar, master of the magicians, tell me the vision of my dream that I have seen, and the interpretation thereof;* or as the Greek translate it, *Hear the visions of my dream, and tell me the interpretation thereof.*] For Nebuchadnezzar tells the dream himself in the following words; so the meaning of the text must be, "Tell me the dream, that is, the interpretation thereof. So Dr. More in his preface to the visions of Daniel gives us the following early interpretation, for, says he, when Nebuchadnezzar says to Daniel, *Tell me the vision of my dream that I have seen, and the interpretation thereof;* here, says he, the particle [and] most assuredly signifies, *that is to say,* for Daniel was not to tell the dream but the interpretation of it; so that the true and plain sense of that part of the verse is, *Tell me the vision of my dream that I have seen, that is to say, the interpretation thereof.*

Ver. 10. — *I saw, and beheld a tree in the midst of the earth.*] Princes and great men are often represented by fair and flourishing trees; so the king of Assyria is described in Ezekiel xxxi. 3.—18. compared with Isa. x. 34. Zech. xi. 2.

Ver. 12. *The beasts of the field had shadow under it.*] i. e. All the subjects of that large empire thought themselves safe under his protection: compared with Ezekiel xvii. 23. xxxi. 6. Lament. iv. 20.

Ver. 13. *Behold a watcher, and [or even] an holy one came from heaven.*] Here the conjunction copulative [and] is again used by way of explication; and the word *watcher* is understood of some principal Angel; the Angelical orders being described, as always attending upon God's throne, to receive and execute commands from the Almighty; see Psalm ciii. 20. Matt. xviii. 10. and therefore they are in another place called the *eyes of the Lord*, Zech. iv. 10. In the fragments of that ancient book called the *Prophecy of Enoch*, quoted in the epistle of Jude, the Angels are called *Efēzēgē*, the Greek word, which stands for *watchers*, and answers to *Eir*, the Chaldee thereof in the text; and some critics derive the *Iris* of the poets, whom they describe as the messenger of the gods, from the said word *Eir*; tho' others take the word *Eir* to differ only in the Chaldee dialect, from the Hebrew *Tsir*, a messenger. — The words *Holy One*, denotes such of the Angels who kept their station, and were not seduced from their obedience; when the evil angels rebelled against God, and were driven from the Heavenly Mansions. In which same sense the word is taken by St. Jude, who says, *the Lord cometh with ten thousand of his Saints, or Holy Ones;* ver. 14. of the epistle of Jude.

Ver. 14. *Let the beasts get away from under it, &c.*] Let his subjects not rely upon his protection; compared with Ezekiel xxxi. 12.

Ver. 15. *Nevertheless leave the stump of his roots in the earth.*] As when the root of a tree is still alive, there is a possibility of its flourishing again; so there should be still hopes, that the king may recover his former state and dignity: see ver. 26.

— *With a band of iron and brass in the tender grass of the field.*] Which denotes, that while the king was deprived of his reason, and lived as the beasts of the field, he was bound with fetters and chains as madmen usually are.

Ver. 16. *Let his heart be changed from man's, and let a beasts heart be given unto him.*] i. e. Let him lose the use of his reason. This is the whole meaning of the text, and not as some have madly fancied, as if Nebuchadnezzar was really transformed into an ox or beast. But it is the same, says a learned author, that by the just judgment of God, he was struck with a ferine, or beastly melancholy. And as some in such a delirancy, fancy themselves *wolves*, others *dogs*, and other some *cats*; which distempers are termed by physicians *Lucanthropy*, *Kumanthropy*, and *Galeanthropy*, as you may see in Sennertus Institut. Medic. lib. 2. part. 3. sect. 1. so this ferine melancholy or madness of Nebuchadnezzar, with which he was smitten and con-

continued in for seven years, may be termed a *Βοανθρωπία* or *Ταυρανθρωπία*, and as physicians report of those other distempers, that the parties that are affected with them will imitate the actions, gestures and voices of those animals, wolf, dog or cat, so might Nebuchadnezzar of an ox or bull; and in this wild savage life of his, he might grow very rough and hairy, and his nails long as the claws of a bird are, he never paring them. Which is all that is meant by that text, that *his hairs were grown like eagles feathers* (not broad as feathers are, but so thick set and much grown that they covered his skin as close as the feathers of an eagle do hers) *and his nails like birds claws*, that is, long especially, and something bending inward. And that this matter, this judgment upon Nebuchadnezzar, was determined by the decree of the *watchers* and by the word of the *Holy Ones*, that is, of the Angelical Powers, this is no more than is more fully intimated in those Prophecies of Daniel which I have expounded; that the affairs of men and of kingdoms especially are carried on by the activity and ministry of Angels, according to that of Theognis,

Ἀνθρώποι τὰ μάταια νημιζομεν, εἰδότες ἑσέν,
Θεοὶ δ' ἐκ κατὰ σφίτερον πάντα τελέσει νόον.

*We mortals knowing nought, vain things surmise,
But all must go as th' Holy Ones devise.*

See also Scaliger's notes upon the *ancient fragments*, in the appendix to his works *de emendatione temporum*.

Ver. 7. *And let seven times pass over him.*] That is, seven years; so the expression is taken afterwards at chap. xi. 13. where the Hebrew reads, *the king of the north shall come at the end of times*, i. e. years. So the *time*, *times*, and *an half*, mentioned chap. vii. 25. and xiii. 7. signify three years and an half; and are accordingly explained by *forty two months*, Revel. xi. 2. and by *1260 days*, Revel. xii. 7. both which reckonings of time are equivalent to *three years and an half*.

Ver. 17. *This matter is by the decree of the watchers, and the demand by the word of the Holy Ones.*] It is called *the decree of the Most High*, ver. 24. So the expression of the text is an allusion to the proceedings of earthly princes, who publish their decrees with the advice of their chief ministers. Thus God is described as summoning all the Host of Angels, and taking resolutions according to their advice. Thus the Prophet Micah, *I saw the Lord*, says he to Ahab, *sitting on his throne, and all the Host of Heaven standing by him, on his right hand and on his left; and the Lord said, who shall persuade Ahab*, 1 Kings xxii. 19, 20. And Christ is represented as attended with Angels and Saints, as his assessors on the tribunal at the Day of Judgment, as you may read more particularly at the viith chap. and 22d ver. of this Prophecy, and 1 Cor. vi. 2, 3. 1 Tim. v. 21. Revel. xx. 4.

Yet the words here are capable of another sense, and are consequently interpreted by some to denote, that the sentence was pronounced at the request of those Angels whom God hath appointed to preside over the affairs of the Babylonish empire. — *Watchers* and *Holy Ones* are here spoken of in the plural number, whereas the words are in the singular, at ver. 13. Which difference may be thus accounted for, that as is just hinted, the sentence was pronounced at the joint request of many, but was to be put in execution by one single Angel.

— *And setteth up over it the basest of men.*] This regards Nebuchadnezzar, either with respect to his present condition, whose pride and cruelty rendered him as despicable in the sight of God, as his high estate made him appear honourable in the eyes of men; and therefore was justly doomed to so low a degree of abasement: or else it may be understood of his wonderful advancement and restoration, after he had been degraded from his dignity; and thought to herd with the beasts of the field. God thereby assesteth that prerogative of his, of *bringing low and lifting up*: and of *raising the beggar from the dunghill to set him among princes*: 1 Sam. ii. 8, 9. Psal. cxiii. 7, 8.

Ver. 18. *For the spirit of the holy gods is in thee.*] See ver. 8.

Ver. 19. *Then Daniel was astonished for one hour, &c.*] Both at the surprizing instances of the judgment denounced against the king, and likewise out of a tender regard and

respect for his person, who had bestowed so many favours upon him.

— *The dream be to them that hate thee, &c.*] The words are spoken by the figure called *Euphemismus*, when we would avert an ill omen from ourselves or friends, by wishing it may light upon our enemies: see a like instance, 1 Sam. xxv. 22. *So and more also do God unto the enemies of David*. At the same time Daniel expresses his dutiful concern for the safety of the king's person and government. Jeremy had before advised the Jewish captives at Babylon to wish and pray for the prosperity of the government under which they lived, Jer. xxix. 7.

Ver. 22. *It is thou, O king—for thy greatness is grown, and reacheth unto Heaven.*] See chap. ii. 38.

Ver. 25. *They shall drive thee from men, &c.*] See ver. 16.

Ver. 26. *After that thou shalt have known that the Heavens do rule.*] Heaven is put for God, as Matt. xxi. 23. Luke xv. xv. 18, 21.

Ver. 27. *Break off thy sins by righteousness, &c.*] Become a new man. The Greek translates it, *redeem thy iniquities by alms-deeds*; making this sentence equivalent in sense to the following words: and it is true that righteousness is often taken for mercy; see Psal. cxxi. 2. cxii. 9. Nor does this sense of the words favour the doctrine of merit, any more than those words of Solomon, Prov. xvi. 6. *By mercy and truth iniquity is purged*, or expiated; as the Hebrew verb *Caphar* properly signifies. To the same sense St. Peter saith, *Charity shall cover a multitude of sins*, 1 Pet. iv. 8. viz. as it is a testimony of unfeigned repentance or conversion. Thus Salvian descanting upon this text, and speaking of works of charity, as proper evidences of true repentance, saith of the sinner, *Offerat cum compunctione, cum lacrymis — aliter quippe obviata non profunt, quia non pretio, sed affectu placent*. "We ought to make such oblations with all the signs of true contrition, or else they will not be accepted, because it is not the value of the things themselves, but the disposition of the giver which renders them acceptable." Salvian. ad Ecclesi. Cathol. lib. 1.

— *It may be a lengthning of thy tranquillity.*] God sometimes defers his judgments upon mens shewing signs of repentance; see 1 Kings xxi. 29.

Ver. 30. *Is not this great Babylon which I have built, &c.*] Tho' Babylon was one of the oldest cities in the world, yet Nebuchadnezzar had very much improved, and made it one of the wonders of the world, upon account of the largeness and height of its new walls, the temple of Bel, his own palace, and the hanging gardens belonging to it; the banks of the river, and the canals made for the draining of it: all which were the works of this king, and an exact description of them may be seen in Dr. Prideaux, Script. Connect. par. 1. p. 94, &c. also in our notes upon Isaiah.

The words of Nebuchadnezzar here recited, favour of great pride and arrogance, and are therefore justly punished by that judgment pronounced upon him in the following verses. Comp. chap. v. 20.

Ver. 31. *While the word was in the king's mouth, there fell a voice from heaven, &c.*] So Herod was struck immediately, because he gave not God the glory, Acts xii. 23.

Ver. 34. *At the end of the days, I Nebuchadnezzar lift up mine eyes to heaven, and my understanding returned unto me, &c.*] At the end of seven years, see ver. 16. I recovered the use of my reason, ver. 36. and became sensible of my dependance upon God, and lift up mine eyes to heaven, in a devout acknowledgment of his Sovereign Majesty, whose dominion alone is unchangeable, and endures for ever.

Ver. 35. *And all the inhabitants of the world are reputed as nothing, &c.*] The greatest monarchs, as well as persons of an inferior rank, are as nothing in his sight; and he disposes of all things in heaven and earth by an irresistible power and authority. Comp. Isa. xl. 15, 17. xlv. 9.

Ver. 36. *And for the glory of my kingdom, mine honour and brightness returned to me.*] Or, *the glory of my kingdom*, (for the particle in the word *likar* is used for a nominative case; see Noldius, p. 463.) *mine honour and countenance*, or comeliness, returned to me. The word *zay* is translated countenance, chap. v. 6. vii. 28. I recovered my former looks, was possessed of the same glory and majesty, and

and was honoured with the same attendance and retinue as I was before.

Ver. 37. *All whose words are truth, and his ways judgment.]* Who governs the world with equity and justice. Compare Rev. xv. 3. xvi. 7.

— *And those who walk in pride, he is able to abase.]* Of which Nebuchadnezzar himself was a remarkable instance, ver. 30, 31. ch. v. 20.

CHAP. V. In this chapter we have the history of Belshazzar's feast, and of his prophaning the Sacred Vessels of the temple of Jerusalem, at which time, he saw a hand-writing upon the wall, the decree of his condemnation and death, which happen'd immediately, as Daniel prophesied, he being slain that night, and the monarchy of the Chaldeans transferr'd to the Medes and Persians. Hence observe, 1st, That it was the pride of Belshazzar, and his prophaning the Holy Vessels, which drew upon him the Divine Vengeance: Learn then, that God will not suffer the affronts done to his Majesty, to pass unpunished; and that pride always goes before destruction.

2dly, That God caused the hand-writing to appear upon the wall, at the very time that Belshazzar was in the midst of his pleasures: Learn here, that he often causes his judgments to fall upon the wicked, when they least expect them, and whilst they are enjoying themselves in ease and prosperity.

3dly, Observe the fright wherewith Belshazzar was seized, in seeing the hand. Learn then, that a bad conscience is always fearful, and that the light of judgments produces in the souls of sinners the most terrible conflicts.

4thly, Observe the conduct of Daniel, who denounc'd to the king, the punishment that was about to fall upon him, and who explain'd the mysterious writing, without hiding any thing from him. Hence learn, that the ministers of the Lord ought always to speak to men sincerely, and without flattering them.

5thly, Observe how Daniel reproved Belshazzar for his pride and idolatry, and particularly for having made no better use of that which befel his father Nebuchadnezzar. Learn hence, that God punishes proud and prophane persons, and especially those that do not lay hold of the warnings he gives them, nor of the examples he sets before their eyes.

Lastly, We see in the death of Belshazzar, and in the coming of Darius the Mede to the empire of the Chaldeans, the accomplishment of what Daniel had foretold, that that monarchy should pass to the Medes and Persians.

Ver. 1. *Belshazzar the king.]* This was the last king of the Babylonish race, and therefore must be the same, who is called Nabonnedus by Berosus, and Naboandebus by Josephus, antiq. lib. x. c. 11. of whom Dr. Prideaux gives the following account: "After him (Neriglissar) succeeded Nabonadius, and reigned seventeen years. Berosus calls him Nabonnedus, Megasthenes Nabonnidochus, Herodotus Labynetus, and Josephus Naboandelus, who he saith is the same with Belshazzar. And there is as great a difference among writers, what he was, as well as what he was called. Some will have him to be of the royal blood of Nebuchadnezzar, and others no way at all related to him. And some say, he was a Babylonian, and others, that he was of the seed of the Medes. And of those, who allow him to have been of the royal family of Nebuchadnezzar, some will have it that he was his son, and others that he was his grandson. For the clearing of this matter, these following particulars must be taken notice of, 1st, That he is on all hands agreed to have been the last of the Babylonish kings. 2dly, That therefore he must have been the same who in Scripture is called Belshazzar. For immediately after the death of Belshazzar, the kingdom was given to the Medes and Persians, (Dan. v. 28—30, 31.) 3dly, That he was of the seed of Nebuchadnezzar, for he is called his son, and Nebuchadnezzar is said to be his father in several places of the same 5th chapter of Daniel, and in 2 Chron. xxxvi. 20. it is said that Nebuchadnezzar, and his children or offspring, reigned at Babylon till the kingdom of Persia. 4thly, That the nations of the east were to serve Nebuchadnezzar, and his son, and his son's son, according to the Prophecy of

Jeremiah, ch. xxvii. 7. and therefore he must have had a son, and a son's son successor to him in the throne of Babylon. 5thly, That as Evil-merodach was his son, so none but Belshazzar, of all the kings that reigned after him at Babylon, could be his son's son. For Neriglissar was only his daughter's husband, and Laborosoarchod was the son of Neriglissar, and therefore neither of them was either son, or son's son to Nebuchadnezzar. 6thly, That this last king of Babylon is said by Herodotus, lib. 1. to be son to the great queen Netocris; and therefore she must have been the wife of a king of Babylon to make her so, and he could have been none other than Evil-merodach. For by that king of Babylon only, could she have a son, that was son's son to Nebuchadnezzar. And therefore, putting all this together, it appears, that this Nabonadius, the last king of Babylon, was the same with him that in Scripture is called Belshazzar, and that he was the son of Evil-merodach by Netocris, and so son's son to Nebuchadnezzar. And that whereas he is called the son of Nebuchadnezzar in the 5th chapter of Daniel, and Nebuchadnezzar is there called his father, this is to be understood in the large sense, wherein any ancestor upward is often called father, and any descendant downward son, according to the usual style of Scripture. *Script. Connect.* page 90, 91. part 1. fol.

— *Made a great feast before a thousand of his lords, and drank wine before the thousand.]* i. e. The king was present at a great feast which he provided for the chief men of his dominions that were then at Babylon, and for the principal officers of his court, being an annual festival celebrated with publick rejoycings, and spent in revelling during the whole night; which circumstances were favourable to the watchful enemy Cyrus, and he took advantage thereof to make himself master of the city, as was foretold by Jeremiah saying of the Babylonians, ch. li. 9. *In their heat I will make their feasts, and I will make them drunken, that they may rejoice, and sleep a perpetual sleep and not awake, saith the Lord.* 40. *I will bring them down like lambs to the slaughter—42 The sea is come up upon Babylon: she is covered with the multitude of the waves thereof, &c.—48 The broad walls of Babylon are utterly broken, and her high gate shall be burnt with fire, &c.* All which was clearly fulfilled at this time, as the historians Herodotus lib. 1. and Xenophon lib 7. do testify.

Ver. 2. *Belshazzar, whilst he tasted the wine, commanded to bring the golden and silver vessels, which his father Nebuchadnezzar had taken out of the temple, which was in Jerusalem.]* You have read before in the first chapter, that these vessels by Nebuchadnezzar's command were carried into the temple of his own god, and set apart there for religious uses. So this further prophaning of them was contrary to their own principles of religious worship, and can be excused of sacrilege by no other means than by attributing it to the effects of a brain disordered with too much strong drink.

— *Which his father Nebuchadnezzar had taken.]* Or rather, his grandfather as we express it. See this handled more largely in the note on the first verse of this chapter.

Ver. 4. *They drank wine and praised the gods of gold and of silver, &c.]* They sang praises unto their false gods made of silver and gold, &c. who were fitly represented by senseless images; and this they did by way of triumph over the God of Israel, the vessels of whose temple they brought forth as so many trophies of their victory; by which, as it is said, ver. 23. *they lifted up themselves against the God of Heaven.*

Ver. 5. *In the same hour came forth fingers of a man's hand.]* Next to murder, no sin has been so remarkably punished, in this world, as that of sacrilege, as appears from the instances recorded thereof in the histories of all ages, whether Heathen and Infidel, Jewish or Christian. For, to profess a religion to be true, and yet to offer violence to the places and utensils dedicated to the service of that religion is downright impiety, and argues a contempt of all religion. Some of the most remarkable instances of this kind in Heathen story are, the miserable end of the Phocceans, who robbed the temple at Delphos, and were the occasion of that war, which was called from thence, the *Holy War*, an account of which may be seen in Petavius's *Rationar. temporum*, part 1. p. 113. The destruction of the Gauls in their attempt upon the same temple



J. Beare fecit.

Daniel in the Lions Den.

temple of Apollo: And of Crassus, who plundered the temple of Jerusalem, and that of the Syrian goddess: Which two last stories are very particularly related by Dr. Prideaux in the Script. Connect. part 2. page 26. and 202: 8vo. First Edition, to which I chuse to refer my reader, being too long to insert in these notes; and shall conclude with that excellent note of Grotius on this place.

"The heathens thought it a great impiety to convert Sacred Things to common uses: But now-a-days neither princes, nor people, think there is any harm in it: And can we expect that God will *not visit for those things*?"

Ver. 4. *And wrote over-against the candlestick.*] The feast was continued till late at night, according to the annual custom, as noted before at ver. 1.

Ver. 5. *Then the king's countenance was changed—so that the joints of his loins were loosed, &c.*] The king was so much surpris'd at this unexpected and supernatural sight, that he trembled and quaked in such a manner, that discovered the disorder of his mind: Just as the Psalmist says, or prays to God against his enemies; *Let their eyes be darkened that they see not, and make their loins continually to shake*, Psal. lxxix. 23.

Ver. 8. *Then came in all the king's wife-men, but they could not read the writing.*] It was probably writ in the old Hebrew letters, now called the Samaritan character, which the Chaldeans were ignorant of.

Ver. 10. *Now the queen, &c.*] This was the queen-mother Netocris, a lady famous for her wisdom, who had the chief management of the publick affairs, and so says Dr. Prideaux is called *the queen* by way of eminence.

Ver. 13. *Art thou that Daniel? &c.*] The queen-mother introduced Daniel, and told Belshazzar that this was the man who had in former days interpreted the dream of his grandfather Nebuchadnezzar. For this present king Belshazzar was so weak and vicious a prince, that, according to history, he left the care of publick affairs to his mother, and minded nothing but his pleasures; so that he neither knew what was acting, nor who were the acting persons of his kingdom; therefore, tho' his grandfather had advanced Daniel to considerable places of honour, ver. 11. Yet, he knew nothing of him, and when he saw him, said in the words of the text, *Art thou that Daniel?*

Ver. 23. *The God in whose hand thy breath is, and whose are all thy ways, hast thou not glorified.*] Daniel spake with boldness, and rebuked the king for his sacrilege, as at ver. 4. is observed he was guilty of; telling him that he had not given due honour to that Supreme Being, who hath an absolute disposal of not only all our affairs, but of life itself.

Ver. 26. *MENE, God hath numbered thy kingdom, and finished it.*] The determinate number of years appointed by God for the continuance of thy reign and the duration of the Babylonish monarchy, is now finished or compleat. So God is said to *number the months of man's life, and to appoint him bounds which he cannot pass*, Job xiv. 5. The word *mene* is doubled in the foregoing verse, to shew that the thing is certain, and *established by God*, as Joseph tells Pharaoh in a like case, Gen. xli. 32.

Ver. 27. *TEKEL, thou art weighed in the ballances, and found wanting.*] Wicked men are often compared to silver adulterated and alloyed with baser metals, which makes it too light when slung into the scales. Thus says Jeremiah, *Reprobate silver shall men call them, because the Lord hath rejected them*, ch. vi. 28. such was Belshazzar when weighed in the scales of Divine Justice, and of such the Psalmist writes, to be laid in the ballance, *they are altogether lighter than vanity*, Psal. lxxii. 9. The same comparison is used by Homer. Iliad. 22. And by Virgil at the death of Turnus, Æn. xii.

Ver. 28. *PERES, thy kingdom is divided and given to the Medes and Persians.*] The verb *paras*, from whence *peres* is derived as an appellative, signifies to *divide or break*: It is likewise the proper name of the Persians, who were to be sharers in the division of the Babylonish empire. *Upkarsin* in the 25th verse, is a participle of the verb *paras*; it literally signifies, *and they divide it*.

Ver. 29. *Then commanded Belshazzar, and they clothed Daniel with scarlet, &c.*] The king, how grating soever this intelligence might be, thought himself bound in honour to perform the promise he had made, ver. 16. And, tho' it could not be done so effectually at this time of

night, he gave orders that his servants *should cloath Daniel with scarlet, and make a proclamation concerning him*. But it was not executed; for

Ver. 30. *In that night was Belshazzar, king of the Chaldeans slain.*] Amidst all their revelling and feasting: For, as Xenophon relates it, "Two deserters, Gadara and Gobryas, having assisted some of the Persian army to kill the guards and seize upon the palace, they entered into the room where the king was, whom they found standing up in a posture of defence; but they soon dispatched him, and those that were with him;" Cyropæd. lib. 7. Thus as observed above, the Prophecy of Jeremiah was fulfilled, that Babylon should be taken at a publick feasting, Jer. li. 39—57.

Ver. 31. *And Darius the Median took the kingdom.*] This Darius is said to be of the seed of the Medes, ch. ix. 1. And is supposed by the most judicious chronologers to be the same with Cyaxares, the son of Astyages. Cyrus made this Darius king of the Chaldeans, as being his uncle by the mother's side, and his partner in carrying on the war against the Babylonians, and left him the palace of the king of Babylon to live there whenever he pleased, according to Xenoph. Cyropæd. 8. Note, The Chaldean phrase rendred here, *took the kingdom*, is translated *possessed the kingdom*, at ch. vii. 18. and means the same with succeeding in the kingdom.

CHAP. vi. Daniel having been raised by king Darius to great honours, the great men of the kingdom being jealous of him, obtain'd an edict to forbid that any prayers should be made, for the space of thirty days, to any god or man whatever, except to the king; but Daniel having prayed publicly to God, was accus'd of a violation of the king's decree, and cast into the den of lions, where God miraculously preserv'd him. From which we may learn,

1st, That the fidelity with which Daniel serv'd king Darius, is an example for those in publick offices, to discharge their duty with integrity.

2dly, In the decree that Darius publish'd, upon the importunity of Daniel's enemies, we see the evils that happen from envy and jealousy, and how the wicked make use of craft, slander, and violence to destroy the innocent.

3dly, That the zeal of Daniel, who without fearing death, always worshipp'd his God publicly, teaches us that we should never betray our consciences, nor fail in our duty towards God, for fear of men; no, nor yet for fear of death.

4thly, That the proceeding of Darius, in consenting to the condemnation of Daniel, tho' he was innocent, is an instance of the behaviour of those that act against their conscience, and have not courage enough to resist the wicked, and to support the innocent.

5thly, From God's suffering Daniel to be cast into the den of lions, but sending his Angel to his assistance, because he believed in him; We learn, that God sometimes exposes those that fear him to great evils; inasmuch that they seem to be ruin'd without recovery; yet does not forsake them, but at last delivers them out of all their trials.

6thly, From the death of Daniel's enemies, who were devour'd by the lions, we learn, how justly God causes the wicked to fall into those snares they had laid for others.

Lastly, The solemn acknowledgment that king Darius made of the power of the true God, is an excellent lesson to engage us to adore the Goodness, Justice, and Almighty Power of the Lord in all things, to publish his marvelous works, and to admire the ways of his providence, who made use of this king to scourge and punish the wicked, and to deliver and honour the innocent.

Ver. 1. *It pleased Darius to set over the kingdom an hundred and twenty princes.*] For, so many were the provinces subject to the Medo-Persian empire, over every one of which was set a prince or governor; and as that empire afterwards encreased by the conquests of Cambyfes and Darius Hystaspes, so the number of princes or governors, in like manner encreased, to the number of one hundred and twenty-seven, as is particularly related in the book of Esther, chap. i. 1.

Ver. 2. *And over these three presidents, of whom Daniel was first.*] As he had been appointed one of the principal officers by Belshazzar, chap. v. 29. and was of so great renown for his abilities, that Darius took him into favour,

and though he came not to Babylon, but carried at Exbatane in Media, he sent for Daniel, that he might have him always near him, as Josephus relates, (*Antiq. lib. x. c. 12.*) where it is likely that he received a sanction of the new advancement in the text. Josephus informs us in the same place, that Daniel built a beautiful structure, probably by Darius's direction, at Exbatane, which was afterwards made the burial-place of the kings of Media and Persia, the care whereof was always committed to a Jewish priest; see the introduction to this book of Daniel.

Ver. 3. *Because that an excellent spirit was in him.*] This may be interpreted properly two ways; it may be said that he, Daniel, had *an excellent spirit in him*; because it was he of whom the queen-mother of Belshazzar said to her son, *There is a man in thy kingdom, in whom is the spirit of the holy Gods*, chap. v. 11. An excellent spirit indeed! Or, it may be said, that Daniel had *an excellent spirit in him*, in the manner the said queen expresses it in the next verse, *forasmuch as an excellent spirit, and knowledge, and understanding, interpreting of dreams, and shewing of hard sentences, and dissolving of doubts were found in the same Daniel*, ver. 12. But says some commentators, not regarding this interpretation of the text by collateral Scripture, this excellent spirit signifies no more than that Darius found Daniel expert in the publick affairs, and therefore an useful man; it being now sixty-five years ago, since he was first advanced by Nebuchadnezzar, chap. ii. 48.

Ver. 8. — *According to the laws of the Medes and Persians which altereth not.*] When a law was enacted by the king of Persia, with the advice of his council, it was no longer in the king's power to pardon the transgressor. So Diodorus Siculus, lib. 4. tells us, that Darius the last king of Persia, would have pardoned Charidemus after he was condemned to die, but could not reverse the law that had passed against him.

Ver. 10. *The windows being opened in his chamber.*] Or, as the Greek has it, *in his upper-chamber*. By which it appears to have been customary for the Jews to set apart some upper-room for their oratory, as places free from noise and disturbance, where they might devoutly offer their prayers and praises unto God. Thus we read in Tobit. iii. 17. That Sarah came down from her upper-chamber, when she had been at her devotions; and the Apostles assembled together in an upper-room, Acts i. 13.

— *Toward Jerusalem.*] According to that petition in the prayer, at Solomon's consecration of the temple: *That if they were led away captive, and should pray to God toward the city which he had chosen, and the house which Solomon had built, then hear thou their prayer, &c.* 1 Kings viii. 48. compared with Ps. v. 7. Jonah ii. 4.

— *Three times a day.*] Devout men, in former days, were accustomed to offer up their prayers to God thrice in the day; in the morning, at noon, and in the evening. And the same religious custom was kept up by the Apostles, at the third, sixth, and ninth hours, Acts ii. 2, 5. iii. 1. x. 9.

Ver. 13. *That Daniel, who is of the children of the captivity of Judah.*] The enemies of Daniel reviled his dignity; they could not bear that a foreigner, and one that had been brought a slave from Jerusalem, should be exalted above them all, natives and free-born, in dignity and power under their king. So when they had drawn the inadvertant king into sign the decree, they resolve to make Daniel the first sacrifice to their hatred; and supposing that the king might be brought off from that regard he had constantly shewn to Daniel, by proper representations, they accuse him of a breach of the king's law, and aggravate his fault, that one who is a foreigner and brought hither a captive, should offer a publick affront to the laws of the king, whose favour and protection he enjoys.

Ver. 14. *Then the king when he heard these words was sore displeased with himself.*] When the king found what use his princes had made of the decree, immediately found that he was traped to sign it on purpose, that they might find occasion to destroy his favourite, Daniel; and from that time he conceived vengeance against those princes, and his love for Daniel increased, though he was forced to submit to his being thrown into the den of lions; from whence says he to Daniel,

Ver. 16. *Thy God whom thou servest continually, he will deliver thee.*] Tho' I am not able to reverse my decree

(see ver. 8.) nor to deliver thee out of the hands of thine enemies, I believe thy God is greater than I, and that he will deliver thee out of the den, from the fury of the lions, as he did, ver. 20. 21, 22, 23.

Ver. 22. — *And also before thee, O king, have I done no hurt.*] Tho' says Daniel, I disobeyed thy decree, it was not done out of contumacy nor stubbornness, but purely to preserve a good conscience, which is the only true principle of loyalty and obedience; see Rom. xiii. 5.

Ver. 24. *And the king commanded, and they brought these men, which had accused Daniel, and they cast them into the den of lions.*] Thus they who had made a pit for the innocent, fell into it themselves. God preserved his servant, and destroyed his enemies.

— *Them, their children, and their wives.*] According to the cruel laws and customs which prevailed in some countries of involving whole families in the punishment due to particular persons; in opposition to which that equitable law was enacted by Moses, *that the fathers should not be put to death for the children, nor the children for the fathers*, Deut. xxiv. 16.

— *And the lions had the mastery of them, and brake all their bones in pieces or ever they came at the bottom of the den.*] To shew by God's decree, that their sparing of Daniel was miraculous.

Ver. 26. *I make a decree, that — men fear and tremble before the God of Daniel, &c.*] This is the same acknowledgment of the true God, as was before made by Nebuchadnezzar, at chap. iii. 29. iv. 3, 34.

Ver. 28. *So this Daniel prospered in the reign of Darius, and in the reign of Cyrus the Persian.*] Since God protected his servant Daniel, after so wonderful a manner, and his enemies were so deservedly punished, he not only grew in favour with the king, but all men feared him, and never more attempted to displace him in the king's esteem; so he continued in much honour with Darius, and found the same kind reception from his successor Cyrus; who, upon the death of Darius, took possession of the whole monarchy of the Medes and Persians, and called from him afterwards the Persian monarchy, as in Ezra, i. 2.

CHAP. VII.

- 1 Daniel's vision of four beasts. 9 Of God's kingdom.
15 The interpretation thereof.

IN the first year of Belshazzar king of Babylon, Daniel had a dream, and visions of his head upon his bed: then he wrote the dream, and told the sum of the matters.

2 Daniel spake, and said, I saw in my vision by night, and behold, the four winds of the heaven strove upon the great sea.

3 And four great beasts came up from the sea, diverse one from another.

4 The first was like a lion, and had eagles wings: and I beheld till the wings thereof were pluckt, and it was lifted up from the earth, and made stand upon the feet as a man, and a mans heart was given to it.

5 And behold, another beast, a second like to a bear, and it raised up it self on one side, and it had three ribs in the mouth of it between the teeth of it: and they said thus unto it, Arise, devour much flesh.

6 After this, I beheld, and lo, another like a leopard, which had upon the back of it four wings of a fowl, the beast had also four heads; and dominion was given to it.

7 After

7 After this, I saw in the night-visions, and behold, a fourth beast, dreadful and terrible, and strong exceedingly; and it had great iron teeth: it devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with the feet of it, and it *was* diverse from all the beasts that *were* before it, and it had ten horns.

8 I considered the horns, and behold, there came up among them another little horn, before whom there were three of the first horns pluckt up by the roots: and behold, in this horn *were* eyes like the eyes of man, and a mouth speaking great things.

9 ¶ I beheld till the thrones were cast down, and the ancient of days did sit, whose garment *was* white as snow, and the hair of his head like the pure wool: his throne *was* like the fiery flame, and his wheels as burning fire.

10 A fiery stream issued and came forth from before him: thousand thousands ministered unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him: the judgment was set, and the books were opened.

11 I beheld then, because of the voice of the great words which the horn spake: I beheld, *even* till the beast was slain, and his body destroyed, and given to the burning flame.

12 As concerning the rest of the beasts, they had their dominion taken away: yet their lives were prolonged for a season and time.

13 I saw in the night-visions, and behold, *one* like the son of man, came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the ancient of days, and they brought him near before him.

14 And there was given him dominion and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages should serve him: his dominion *is* an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom *that* which shall not be destroyed.

15 ¶ I Daniel was grieved in my spirit in the midst of *my* body, and the visions of my head troubled me.

16 I came near unto one of them that stood by, and asked him the truth of all this: so he told me, and made me know the interpretation of the things.

17 These great beasts, which are four, *are* four kings, *which* shall arise out of the earth.

18 But the saints of the most High shall take the kingdom, and possess the kingdom for ever, even for ever and ever.

19 Then I would know the truth of the fourth beast, which was diverse from all the others, exceeding dreadful, whose teeth *were* of iron, and his nails of brass, *which* devoured, brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with his feet,

20 And of the ten horns that *were* in his head, and of the other which came up, and before whom three fell, even of that horn that had eyes, and a mouth that spake very great things, whose look *was* more stout than his fellows.

21 I beheld, and the same horn made war with the saints, and prevailed against them;

22 Until the ancient of days came, and judgment was given to the saints of the most High; and the time came that the saints possessed the kingdom.

23 Thus he said, The fourth beast shall be the fourth kingdom upon earth, which shall be diverse from all kingdoms, and shall devour the whole earth; and shall tread it down, and break it in pieces.

24 And the ten horns out of this kingdom *are* ten kings *that* shall arise: and another shall rise after them, and he shall be diverse from the first, and he shall subdue three kings.

25 And he shall speak *great* words against the most High, and shall wear out the saints of the most High, and think to change times and laws: and they shall be given into his hand, until a time and times, and the dividing of time.

26 But the judgment shall sit, and they shall take away his dominion, to consume, and to destroy *it* unto the end.

27 And the kingdom, and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the most High, whose kingdom *is* an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him.

28 Hitherto *is* the end of the matter. As for me Daniel, my cogitations much troubled me; and my countenance changed in me: but I kept the matter in my heart.

CHAP. VIII.

1 Daniel's vision of the ram, and he-goat. 13 The 2300 days of sacrifice. 15 Gabriel comforteth Daniel, and interpreteth the vision.

IN the third year of the reign of king Belshazzar, a vision appeared unto me, *even* unto me Daniel, after that which appeared unto me at the first.

2 And

2 And I saw in a vision (and it came to pass when I saw, that I *was* at Shushan *in* the palace, which *is* in the province of Elam) and I saw in a vision, and I was by the river of Ulai.

3 Then I lifted up mine eyes, and saw, and behold, there stood before the river, a ram which had two horns, and the two horns *were* high: but one *was* higher than the other, and the higher came up last.

4 I saw the ram pushing west-ward, and north-ward, and south-ward: so that no beasts might stand before him, neither *was there any* that could deliver out of his hand, but he did according to his will, and became great.

5 And as I was considering, behold, an he-goat came from the west, on the face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground: and the goat *had* a notable horn between his eyes.

6 And he came to the ram that had two horns, which I had seen standing before the river, and ran unto him in the fury of his power.

7 And I saw him come close unto the ram, and he was moved with choler against him, and smote the ram, and brake his two horns, and there was no power in the ram to stand before him, but he cast him down to the ground, and stamped upon him: and there was none that could deliver the ram out of his hand.

8 Therefore the he-goat waxed very great, and when he was strong, the great horn was broken: and for it came up four notable ones towards the four winds of heaven.

9 And out of one of them came forth a little horn, which waxed exceeding great, toward the south, and toward the east, and toward the pleasant *land*.

10 And it waxed great, *even* to the host of heaven, and it cast down *some* of the host, and of the stars to the ground, and stamped upon them.

11 Yea, he magnified *himself* even to the prince of the host, and by him the daily *sacrifice* was taken away, and the place of his sanctuary was cast down.

12 And an host was given *him* against the daily *sacrifice* by reason of transgression, and it cast down the truth to the ground, and it practised and prospered.

13 ¶ Then I heard one saint speaking, and another saint said unto that certain *saint* which spake, How long *shall* be the

vision *concerning* the daily *sacrifice*, and the transgression of desolation, to give both the sanctuary and the host to be trodden under foot?

14 And he said unto me, Unto two thousand and three hundred days; then shall the sanctuary be cleansed.

15 ¶ And it came to pass when I, *even* I Daniel, had seen the vision, and sought for the meaning, then behold, there stood before me as the appearance of a man.

16 And I heard a mans voice between *the banks* of Ulai, which called, and said, Gabriel, make this *man* to understand the vision.

17 So he came near where I stood: and when he came, I was afraid, and fell upon my face: but he said unto me, Understand, O son of man; for at the time of the end *shall* be the vision.

18 Now as he was speaking with me, I was in a deep sleep on my face toward the ground: but he touched me, and set me upright.

19 And he said, Behold, I will make thee know what shall be in the last end of the indignation: for at the time appointed the end *shall* be.

20 The ram which thou sawest having two horns, *are* the kings of Media and Persia.

21 And the rough goat *is* the king of Grecia, and the great horn that *is* between his eyes, is the first king.

22 Now that being broken, whereas four stood up for it, four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power.

23 And in the latter time of their kingdom, when the transgressors are come to the full, a king of fierce countenance, and understanding dark sentences, shall stand up.

24 And his power shall be mighty, but not by his own power: and he shall destroy wonderfully, and shall prosper, and practise, and shall destroy the mighty and the holy people.

25 And through his policy also he shall cause craft to prosper in his hand, and he shall magnify *himself* in his heart, and by peace shall destroy many: he shall also stand up against the prince of princes, but he shall be broken without hand.

26 And the vision of the evening and the morning which was told, is true: wherefore shut thou up the vision, for it *shall* be for many days.

27 And

27 And I Daniel fainted and was sick *certain* days; afterward I rose up and did the kings business, and I was astonished at the vision, but none understood it.

C H A P. IX.

1 Daniel considering the time of his captivity. 3. maketh confession of sins, 16 and prayeth for the restoration of Jerusalem. 20 Gabriel informeth him of the seventy weeks.

IN the first year of Darius the son of Ahasuerus, of the seed of the Medes, which was made king over the realm of the Chaldeans;

2 In the first year of his reign, I Daniel understood by books the number of the years, whereof the word of the LORD came to Jeremiah the prophet, that he would accomplish seventy years in the desolations of Jerusalem.

3 ¶ And I set my face unto the Lord God to seek by prayers and supplications with fasting, and sackcloth, and ashes.

4 And I prayed unto the LORD my God, and made my confession, and said, O Lord, the great and dreadful God, keeping the covenant, and mercy to them that love him, and to them that keep his commandments:

5 We have sinned and have committed iniquity, and have done wickedly, and have rebelled, even by departing from thy precepts, and from thy judgments.

6 Neither have we hearkned unto thy servants the prophets, which spake in thy name to our kings, our princes, and our fathers, and to all the people of the land.

7 O Lord, righteousness *belongeth* unto thee, but unto us confusion of faces, as at this day: to the men of Judah, and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and unto all Israel *that are* near, and *that are* far off, through all the countries whither thou hast driven them, because of their trespasses that they have trespassed against thee.

8 O Lord, to us *belongeth* confusion of face, to our kings, to our princes, and to our fathers, because we have sinned against thee.

9 To the Lord our God *belong* mercies and forgivenesses, though we have rebelled against him.

10 Neither have we obeyed the voice of the LORD our God, to walk in his laws which he sets before us, by his servants the prophets.

11 Yea, all Israel have transgressed thy law, even by departing that they might not obey thy voice, therefore the curse is poured upon us, and the oath that *is* written in the law of Moses the servant of God, because we have sinned against him.

12 And he hath confirmed his words which he spake against us, and against our judges that judged us, by bringing upon us a great evil: for under the whole heaven hath not been done, as hath been done upon Jerusalem.

13 As *it is* written in the law of Moses, all this evil is come upon us: yet made we not our prayer before the LORD our God, that we might turn from our iniquities, and understand thy truth.

14 Therefore hath the LORD watched upon the evil, and brought it upon us: for the LORD our God *is* righteous in all his works which he doeth: for we obeyed not his voice.

15 And now, O Lord our God that hast brought thy people forth out of the land of Egypt with a mighty hand, and hast gotten thee renown as at this day: we have sinned, we have done wickedly.

16 ¶ O Lord, according to all thy righteousness, I beseech thee, let thine anger and thy fury be turned away from thy city Jerusalem, thy holy mountain: because for our sins, and for the iniquities of our fathers, Jerusalem and thy people *are become* a reproach to all *that are* about us.

17 Now therefore, O our God, hear the prayer of thy servant, and his supplications, and cause thy face to shine upon thy sanctuary *that is* desolate, for the LORD's sake.

18 O my God, incline thine ear, and hear; open thine eyes, and behold our desolations and the city, which is called by thy name: for we do not present our supplications before thee for our righteousness, but for thy great mercies.

19 O Lord hear, O Lord forgive, O Lord hearken and do, defer not, for thine own sake, O my God: for thy city, and thy people are called by thy name.

20 ¶ And whiles I was speaking and praying, and confessing my sin, and the sin of my people Israel, and presenting my supplication before the LORD my God, for the holy mountain of God:

21 Yea, whiles I *was* speaking in prayer, even the man Gabriel, whom I had seen in the vision at the beginning, being caused to

22 H

fly

fly swiftly, touched me about the time of the evening oblation.

22 And he informed *me*, and talked with me, and said, O Daniel, I am now come forth to give thee skill and understanding.

23 At the beginning of thy supplications the commandment came forth, and I am come to shew *thee*; for thou *art* greatly beloved: therefore understand the matter, and consider the vision.

24 Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people, and upon thy holy city, to finish the transgression, and to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliations for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision and prophesy, and to anoint the most holy.

25 Know therefore and understand, *that* from the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem, unto the Messiah the prince, *shall be* seven weeks; and threescore and two weeks the street shall be built again, and the wall, even in troublous times.

26 And after threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off, but not for himself: and the people of the prince that shall come, shall destroy the city, and the sanctuary, and the end thereof *shall be* with a flood, and unto the end of the war desolations are determined.

27 (And he shall confirm the covenant with many for one week: and in the midst of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease, and for the overspreading of abominations, he shall make *it* desolate,) even until the consummation, and that determined shall be poured upon the desolate.

CHAP. X.

1 Daniel having humbled himself, seeth a vision. 10 Being troubled with fear, he is comforted by the Angel.

IN the third year of Cyrus king of Persia, a thing was revealed unto Daniel (whose name was called Belteshazzar) and the thing *was* true, but the time appointed *was* long, and he understood the thing, and had understanding of the vision.

2 In those days I Daniel was mourning three full weeks.

3 I ate no pleasant bread, neither came flesh, nor wine in my mouth, neither did I anoint my self at all, till three whole weeks were fulfilled.

4 And in the four and twentieth day of the first month, as I was by the side of the great river, which *is* Hiddekel:

5 Then I lift up mine eyes and looked, and behold, a certain man cloathed in linnen, whose loyns *were* girded with fine gold of Uphaz:

6 His body also *was* like the beryl, and his face as the appearance of lightning, and his eyes as lamps of fire, and his arms and his feet like in colour to polished brass, and the voice of his words like the voice of a multitude.

7 And I Daniel alone saw the vision, for the men that were with me saw not the vision: but a great quaking fell upon them, so that they fled to hide themselves.

8 Therefore I was left alone, and saw this great vision, and there remained no strength in me: for my comeliness was turned in me into corruption, and I retained no strength.

9 Yet heard I the voice of his words: and when I heard the voice of his words, then was I in a deep sleep on my face, and my face toward the ground.

10 ¶ And behold, an hand touched me, which set me upon my knees, and *upon* the palms of my hands.

11 And he said unto me, O Daniel, a man greatly beloved, understand the words that I speak unto thee, and stand upright: for unto thee am I now sent. And when he had spoken this word unto me, I stood trembling.

12 Then said he unto me, Fear not Daniel: for from the first day that thou didst set thine heart to understand, and to chasten thy self before thy God, thy words were heard, and I am come for thy words.

13 But the prince of the kingdom of Persia withstood me one and twenty days: but lo, Michael one of the chief princes came to help me, and I remained there with the kings of Persia.

14 Now I am come to make thee understand what shall befall thy people in the latter days: for yet the vision *is* for many days.

15 And when he had spoken such words unto me, I set my face toward the ground, and I became dumb.

16 And behold, *one* like the similitude of the sons of men touched my lips: then I opened my mouth, and spake, and said unto him that stood before me, O my lord, by the vision my sorrows are turned upon me, and I have retained no strength.

17 For how can the servant of this my lord talk with this my lord? for as for me, straight-

straightway there remained no strength in me, neither is there breath left in me.

18 Then there came again and touched me *one* like the appearance of a man, and he strengthened me,

19 And said, O man greatly beloved, fear not, peace *be* unto thee, be strong, yea, be strong. And when he had spoken unto me, I was strengthened, and said, Let my lord speak; for thou hast strengthened me.

20 Then said he, Knowest thou wherefore I come unto thee? and now will I return to fight with the prince of Persia: and when I am gone forth, lo, the prince of Grecia shall come.

21 But I will shew thee *that which is* noted in the scripture of truth: and *there is* none that holdeth with me in these things, but Michael your prince.

CHAP. XI.

1 *The overthrow of Persia by the king of Grecia. 5 Leagues and conflicts, between the kings of the south and of the north. 30 The invasion and tyranny of the Romans.*

ALSO I, in the first year of Darius the Mede, *even* I stood to confirm and to strengthen him.

2 And now will I shew thee the truth, Behold, there shall stand up yet three kings in Persia, and the fourth shall be far richer than *they* all: and by his strength through his riches he shall stir up all against the realm of Grecia.

3 And a mighty king shall stand up, that shall rule with great dominion, and do according to his will.

4 And when he shall stand up, his kingdom shall be broken, and shall be divided toward the four winds of heaven; and not to his posterity, nor according to his dominion which he ruled: for his kingdom shall be pluckt up, even for others besides those.

5 ¶ And the king of the south shall be strong, and *one* of his princes, and he shall be strong above him, and have dominion: his dominion *shall be* a great dominion.

6 And in the end of years they shall join themselves together: for the kings daughter of the south shall come to the king of the north to make an agreement: but she shall not retain the power of the arm, neither shall he stand, nor his arm; but she shall be given up, and they that brought her, and he that begat her, and he that strengthened her in *these* times.

7 But out of a branch of her root shall *one* stand up in his estate, which shall come with an army, and shall enter into the fortrefs of the king of the north, and shall deal against them, and shall prevail:

8 And shall also carry captives into Egypt their gods, with their princes, *and* with their precious vessels of silver and of gold, and he shall continue *more* years than the king of the north.

9 So the king of the south shall come into *his* kingdom, and shall return into his own land.

10 But his sons shall be stirred up, and shall assemble a multitude of great forces: and *one* shall certainly come, and overflow, and pass through: then shall he return, and be stirred up, *even* to his fortrefs.

11 And the king of the south shall be moved with choler, and shall come forth and fight with him, *even* with the king of the north: and he shall set forth a great multitude, but the multitude shall be given into his hand.

12 And when he hath taken away the multitude, his heart shall be lifted up, and he shall cast down *many* ten thousands; but he shall not be strengthened *by it*.

13 For the king of the north shall return, and shall set forth a multitude greater than the former, and shall certainly come (after certain years) with a great army, and with much riches.

14 And in those times there shall many stand up against the king of the south: also the robbers of thy people shall exalt themselves to establish the vision, but they shall fall.

15 So the king of the north shall come, and cast up a mount, and take the most fenced cities, and the arms of the south shall not withstand, neither his chosen people, neither *shall there be any* strength to withstand.

16 But he that cometh against him, shall do according to his own will, and none shall stand before him: and he shall stand in the glorious land which by his hand shall be consumed.

17 He shall also set his face to enter with the strength of his whole kingdom, and upright ones with him: thus shall he do, and he shall give him the daughter of women corrupting her: but she shall not stand *on his side*, neither be for him.

18 After this shall he turn his face unto the isles, and shall take many: but a prince for

for his own behalf shall cause the reproach offered by him to cease; without his own reproach he shall cause *it* to turn upon him.

19 Then he shall turn his face towards the fort of his own land: but he shall stumble and fall, and not be found.

20 Then shall stand up in his estate a raiser of taxes *in* the glory of the kingdom; but within few days he shall be destroyed, neither in anger, nor in battel.

21 And in his estate shall stand up a vile person, to whom they shall not give the honour of the kingdom: but he shall come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by flatteries.

22 And with the arms of a flood shall they be overflowed from before him, and shall be broken; yea, also the prince of the covenant.

23 And after the league *made* with him, he shall work deceitfully; for he shall come up, and shall become strong with a small people.

24 He shall enter peaceably even upon the fattest places of the province, and he shall do *that* which his fathers have not done, nor his fathers fathers, he shall scatter among them the prey and spoil, and riches: *yea*, and he shall forecast his devices against the strong holds, even for a time.

25 And he shall stir up his power and his courage against the king of the south with a great army, and the king of the south shall be stirred up to battel with a very great and mighty army; but he shall not stand; for they shall forecast devices against him.

26 Yea, they that feed of the portion of his meat, shall destroy him, and his army shall overflow: and many shall fall down slain.

27 And both these kings hearts *shall be* to do mischief, and they shall speak lies at one table; but it shall not prosper: for yet the end *shall be* at the time appointed.

28 Then shall he return into his land with great riches, and his heart *shall be* against the holy covenant: and he shall do *exploits*, and return to his own land.

29 At the time appointed he shall return, and come toward the south, but it shall not be as the former, or as the latter.

30 ¶ For the ships of Chittim shall come against him: therefore he shall be grieved and return, and have indignation against the holy covenant: so shall he do, he shall even

return, and have intelligence with them that forsake the holy covenant.

31 And arms shall stand on his part, and they shall pollute the sanctuary of strength, and shall take away the daily *sacrifice*, and they shall place the abomination that maketh desolate.

32 And such as do wickedly against the covenant, shall he corrupt by flatteries: but the people that do know their God, shall be strong, and do *exploits*.

33 And they that understand among the people, shall instruct many: yet they shall fall by the sword, and by flame, by captivity and by spoil *many* days.

34 Now when they shall fall, they shall be holpen with a little help: but many shall cleave to them with flatteries.

35 And *some* of them of understanding shall fall, to try them, and to purge, and to make *them* white, *even* to the time of the end: because *it is* yet for a time appointed.

36 And the king shall do according to his will, and he shall exalt himself, and magnify himself above every god, and shall speak marvellous things against the God of gods, and shall prosper till the indignation be accomplished: for that that is determined, shall be done.

37 Neither shall he regard the god of his fathers, nor the desire of women, nor regard any god: for he shall magnify himself above all.

38 But in his estate shall he honour the God of forces: and a god whom his fathers knew not, shall he honour with gold, and silver, and with precious stones, and pleasant things.

39 Thus shall he do in the most strong holds with a strange god, whom he shall acknowledge *and* increase with glory: and he shall cause them to rule over many, and shall divide the land for gain.

40 And at the time of the end shall the king of the south push at him, and the king of the north shall come against him like a whirlwind with chariots, and with horsemen, and with many ships, and he shall enter into the countries, and shall overflow and pass over.

41 He shall enter also into the glorious land, and many *countries* shall be overthrown: but these shall escape out of his hand, *even* Edom, and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon.

42 He

42 He shall stretch forth his hand also upon the countries, and the land of Egypt shall not escape.

43 But he shall have power over the treasures of gold, and of silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt: and the Libyans, and the Ethiopians *shall be* at his steps.

44 But tidings out of the east, and out of the north shall trouble him: therefore he shall go forth with great fury to destroy, and utterly to make away many.

45 And he shall plant the tabernacles of his palace between the seas in the glorious holy mountain; yet he shall come to his end, and none shall help him.

CHAP. XII.

1 Michael shall deliver Israel from their troubles. 5 Daniel is informed of the times.

AND at that time shall Michael stand up, the great prince which standeth for the children of thy people, and there shall be a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation, *even* to that same time: and at that time thy people shall be delivered, every one *that shall be* found written in the book.

2 And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt.

3 And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness; as the stars for ever and ever.

4 But thou, O Daniel, shut up the words, and seal the book *even* to the time of the end: many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased.

5 ¶ Then I Daniel looked, and behold, there stood other two, the one on this side of the bank of the river, and the other on that side of the bank of the river.

6 And *one* said to the man clothed in linnen, which *was* upon the waters of the river, How long *shall it be* to the end of these wonders?

7 And I heard the man clothed in linnen, which *was* upon the waters of the river, when he held up his right hand, and his left hand unto heaven, and sware by him that liveth for ever, that *it shall be* for a time, times, and an half: and when he shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people, all these *things* shall be finished.

8 And I heard, but I understood not: then said I, O my Lord, what *shall be* the end of these *things*?

9 And he said, Go thy way, Daniel: for the words *are* closed up and sealed, till the time of the end.

10 Many shall be purified and made white and tried: but the wicked shall do wickedly: and none of the wicked shall understand, but the wise shall understand.

11 And from the time *that* the daily sacrifice shall be taken away, and the abomination that maketh desolate set up, *there shall be* a thousand two hundred and ninety days.

12 Blessed is he that waiteth, and cometh to the thousand three hundred and five and thirty days.

13 But go thou thy way till the end *be*: for thou shalt rest, and stand in thy lot at the end of the days.

CHAP. VII. As by the statue consisting of four metals those four empires, the Babylonian, Medo-Persian, Greek, and Roman, from their beginning to their ending, were represented; so they are here in the very same extent of time, notwithstanding this vision was seen towards the end of the first of these empires, namely, the Babylonian. Which manner of representing in prophetic type part of time past in a set of visions, is made use of also in the Apocalypse, the greatest part of the time of the first of the six visions in the first seals being expired when St. John saw them. And there is the same reason of the set of visions of the seven Churches which begin, as that of the seals, from the first epocha of Christianity, as does also the vision of the measuring the inner and outer court, and the woman clothed with the sun with twelve stars upon her head, &c. There was about sixty years from the epocha of St. John's visions to the time he saw them; and less from the beginning of the Babylonian empire till Daniel's seeing of this vision of the four beasts. So that this is no obstacle, but that the Babylonian empire may be here represented from its beginning, though Daniel saw this vision toward the end thereof.

Ver. 1. *In the first year of Belshazzar.* (The son of Evil-merodach, who was the son of Nebuchadnezzar) king of Babylon, namely, the last king of Babylon, who was slain by the Medes and Persians, the city Babylon being taken by Cyrus in the eighteenth year of Belshazzar's reign, according to Thomas Lydiat. Here it is also to be observed; That the Prophet having related some remarkable passages concerning himself and brethren in captivity, and given proofs of his skill by interpreting other men's dreams, proceeds to give an account of his own visions: And thereupon goes back to the first year of Belshazzar's reign, which was seventeen years before the history contained in the last chapter, *Daniel had a dream and a vision of his head upon his bed.* He had a Divine Vision communicated to him in his sleep. For prophetic visions are communicated to the Prophets either way, either sleeping or waking, and they are either way truly Divine. *Then he wrote the dream, and told the sum of the matters;* that is to say, He declared the sum of the matters in writing.

Ver. 2. *Daniel spake and said.* viz. He declared thus touching himself, *I saw,* says he, *in my vision by night, and behold the four winds of the heaven stood upon the Great-sea.* By the Great-sea in the prophetic language, is understood vast multitudes of people that overspread the face of the earth, as the waters of the sea do. By the winds is understood that invisible principle of motion,

motion, from whence comes that vicissitude of changes amongst the nations of the earth, who are driven this way and that way according as the active part, whatever it is, that answers here to the winds, doth move them: Whether they be angelical powers which superintend the affairs of nations, or what-ever else; for it is said in the Psalms, *Who maketh his Angels spirits, his ministers a flaming fire.* On which Grotius learnedly and ingeniously glosses thus, Psal. civ. 4. *Sunt Angelorum alii aerei, alii ignei,* and a little after, *Essē Angelis corpora sed subtilissima non Pythagoræ tantum & Platonis schola sensit, sed & Judæi veteres & veteres Christiani,* i. e. It has been the opinion not only of the Pythagorean and Platonic school, but also of the ancient Jews and Christians, that Angels have most subtle bodies.

The activity therefore of the aerial *Genii* or Angels may be understood by these winds, or the commotions they bring in by Divine Providence in the production of new empires, and destruction of the old. And it is from the subtilty of their bodies, tho' it may be chiefly from their activity in the innovations and commutations of the affairs of mankind, in pulling down and building up kingdoms and empires, that these angelical orders are called spirits. And there is a distribution of them into four chariots with various coloured horses, Zech. vi. Where to the Prophet asking, what are these my Lord? it is answered, *Ista sunt quatuor venti Celi,* where the Hebrew for *venti* or *spirits*, is the very same word that is in Psal. civ. 4. *These are the four winds of Heaven,* or the quaternio of the angelical ministers of Divine Providence. Something like that Revel. vii. where there is mention of the four Angels at the four corners of the earth, holding the four winds of the earth that they should not blow on the earth, nor on the sea. And that the great things in the vicissitude of kingdoms and empires are done by the Angels, is an hypothesis that both Daniel and the Revelations plainly supposes, the latter indeed inculcates to awaken this dull Sadducean age, who believe not in spirits, and are almost ripe to deny a resurrection of the dead.

This, I don't doubt but is one sense of this passage in Daniel, but if any one think it too sublime and remote from the vulgar capacity, he may substitute for these *Angelical Powers* here denoted by the *winds*, the ambitious and unquiet minds of great princes and politicians, and their officers, and those blusters they make in the world by their impetuous activity to begin or increase their dominion, and to enlarge it into a more absolute empire: For it is well known in history, that empires and kingdoms commonly take their rise from the commotions and troubled state of affairs in the world. But the more sober may take in both senses according to the genius of the prophetick style, which, by the same symbol exhibits frequently more things than one at a time.

But that these winds are said to be *four*, it may be partly in allusion to the four quarters of the world, partly to the mystical meaning of the number *four*, in setting out the angelical kingdom or ministry, and partly to the four beasts that were to arise in succession one after another out of the sea, by the striving thereon, not all together, but one after another. For, expressing the thing so as if they all conflicted one with another at the same time, is but for the embellishing the outward view of the vision, of which no more is to be taken in, than is agreeable to history and reason, as your notes will appear to be from the observations that follow them.

But this in the mean time is very remarkable; that, being the very beginning here of them all is premised, it necessarily follows, that the vision reaches to the very beginning of each empire, the Babylonian as well as the rest, or because it reaches the very beginning of the first of these empires, that that empire must be the Babylonian, as we shall see in the process of this Exposition.

Ver. 3. *And four great beasts came up from the sea.* Which, as I said, shews that the vision reaches the very rise or first beginning of each of the forementioned empires; which took their rise from wars and commotions, and end in setting up the conqueror to be a great monarch over those whom he hath subdued. But here we are again to note, that though all four are here mentioned together, yet *the rising out of the sea* was one after another. But their coming thus out of the sea together strikes the fancy more strong, which is the peculiar scope of the out-

ward contexture of the Prophecies both here and in the Revelations.

— *Divers one from another.* viz. In shape and condition. But in the mean time they are all beasts. The Septuagint render it *Onesja, wild beasts.* And Grotius upon the place, *ides bestie,* saith he, *quia idololatrica erant imperia ut notat hic Jacchiades,* i. e. *They were called beasts; because, as Jacchiades notes upon this place, they were idolatrous empires.* Their idolatry indeed shews their brutishness, being accustomed to no higher a dispensation of religion than adoration of visible objects, as the elephant is said to worship the moon. But cruelty is another ingredient to make them *Onesja, wild beasts*: such *savage cruelty*, and gross and stupid idolatry, being exquisitely oppolite to the kingdom of the Son of Man, who came to erect the empire of love and charity, and of pure religion, the worshipping the Father in Spirit and in Truth.

Ver. 4. *The first was like a lion.* A beast of a yellowish or golden colour, and, as the poets describe him, the head of all beasts, which is the Babylonian empire, signified also by the golden head of the image or statue. The Prophet Jeremy likewise describes Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon by this animal, chap. iv. 7. The lion is come up from his thicket, and the destroyer of the nations is on his way; because warriors, especially conquerors, as Nebuchadnezzar was, are compared to lions for their strength and cruelty; and to eagles for their swiftness and expedition in their undertakings; and therefore it follows: *And had eagles wings,* which betoken the quickness of his dispatch in his expeditions and conquests. And accordingly the same Prophet speaking of Nebuchadnezzar's coming against the Jews, chap. iv. 13. *Behold, he shall come up,* saith he, *as clouds, and his chariot shall be as a whirlwind, his horses are swifter than eagles, Wo unto us for we are spoiled.* And again, chap. xl. *Behold, he shall fly as an eagle, and shall spread his wings over Moab.* And many other places there are concerning Nebuchadnezzar to the same purpose.

— *I beheld till the wings thereof were plucked wherewith it was lifted up from the earth.* For the marginal *wherewith* in the English Bible is better than *and* in the text. And Grotius says, *Verte [per quas efferebatur supra terram.]* And he adds this note further, *Sæpe enim Chaldeis ut & Hebræis copula vim habet relativam,* i. e. For the Chaldean and Hebrew conjunction copulative has often the force of a relative. The same is confirmed by Noldius, p. 196. And besides, the copula *van* will signify *for* as well as *and*, and then the sense will be the same that Grotius drives at, and the Septuagint ratify it by translating the Hebrew *xai ἔφεδν*, which signifies, he was *carried up on high*, not taken out of the way or destroyed, as some would have it.

Now the Babylonian monarch's being thus carried up on high on his wings, may signify both the height of his prosperity and the haughtiness of his mind, his ambition, as it is set out by the Prophet Isaiah, chap. xiv. 14. where he brings him in saying, *I will ascend above the heights of the clouds, I will be like the most High.* For this ought, according to most commentators, to be understood of the king of Babylon, and the whole succession is to be look'd on as one king, as the empire is look'd upon as one beast. Tho' there was a stop put to the progress of his victories by the frequent eruptions of the armies led by Cyrus, and Darius or Cyaxares, against the Babylonians for twenty years together, before the final overthrow of that empire, as Dr. Prideaux has fully remarked in his Scripture Connection, at the reign of Neriglissar. See also below in the next note: Now therefore, *I beheld till the wings thereof were plucked*, is not so to be understood as if this plucking of the wings could not be but after the time of this vision of Daniel, because, as I proved above, the vision reaches from the beginning of the Babylonian empire, the scene whereof all along Daniel here beheld. Where amongst other things he noted the plucking of the wings of this lion, the Babylonian monarch. Which happened most notoriously in his being cast down from his loftily priding himself in his great magnificence, chap. iv. 30. *Is not this great Babylon that I have built, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty?* Which was no sooner said by him, but he heard a voice from Heaven, O king Nebuchad-

chadnezar to thee it is spoken, *The kingdom is departed from thee, &c.* See notes on chap. iv.

— *And was made stand on the feet as a man, and a man's heart was given to it.* Now, after that septennial humiliation of Nebuchadnezzar by being cast into so deep a melancholy and delirancy, as if he were grown a very brute that goes on all-four, these words describe his happy recovery out of that deep disease. For physicians take notice of such a melancholy as makes the party imagine himself to be, and to imitate the manners and nature of this or that beast, as you may see in Sennertius, and other writers. But here it seems he came to himself again by the good Providence of God, and went constantly upon his feet as other men do. *And a man's heart was given him,* that is, his human understanding was restored unto him. For the phrase of Scripture makes the heart the seat of understanding. Instead therefore of having the mind or heart of either a brute or a Luciferian Devil, he had got a man's heart, and was taught, chap. iv. 37. to honour and extol the king of Heaven, all whose works are truth, and his ways judgment, and who is able to abase all those that walk in pride. What can be more significant of Nebuchadnezzar's case than this? Which therefore is a most certain character, that the first beast is the Babylonian monarchy, and this passage is most properly applied to him.

But withal I do not deny but it may be extended further to other cases of the empire, or monarchs of Babylon; accordingly as Grotius expounds the plucking of the wings of this lion, *Tardati cursus ejus imperii, &c.* i. e. There was a stop put to the progress of its victories. The affairs of that empire were not carried on with that speed and success under Evil-merodach and his viceroy, as it were, Naragalazar, in whose days Cyrus rebelling against Astyages (whom Nebuchadnezzar had set over the kingdom of Media, inasmuch that Media was under the Babylonian empire in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, and onward till this rebellion of Cyrus) Media by this means in Evil-merodach's days, son of Nebuchadnezzar, was rent from the Babylonian empire. And this, I think, was a considerable clipping or plucking the wings of the lion, besides what other particularities might be noted in history. See Dr. Prideaux, as before cited. And moreover Belshazzar, chap. v. (as Daniel reproves him for his not regarding that fearful punishment of his grandfather. For his pride had lifted him up also against the Lord of Heaven, ver. 23. and he had sacrilegiously drank in the Holy Vessels of God's temple in that impious feast he made) Belshazzar, I say, was pretty well humbled by that hand-writing against him on the wall, but immediately after was laid in the dust of death. But in his successor Darius the Mede (for I have above noted, that the succession is accounted as one continued monarch, as the beast one continued empire, and what belongs to the monarch or empire is said of the first beast) the other part of the Prophecy is again fulfilled, *That he was made to stand upon his feet as a man,* not to soar in the air with eagle's wings, and tancy himself above him that dwells in the clouds. *And a man's heart was given to him,* namely, to Darius the Mede, the last monarch of the Babylonian empire; as Thomas Lydiat proves in his *Emendatione Temporum, anno mundi, 3469* and all begin the Medo-Persian empire from Cyrus. And what a heart full of humanity toward Daniel, nay, indeed of piety and belief in Daniel's God, the God of Israel, was given unto him, will plainly appear to any that reads the sixth chapter of Daniel, ver. 14—16, 18, 19, 20—23—26, 27. Thus fully well assured may we be that this first beast is the Babylonian empire, and this being agreed, we shall easily be induced to believe, that the three following will prove the Medo-Persian, Greek, and Roman, as they were in the image of the four metals, for the same reasons there above specified.

Ver. 5. *And behold another beast, a second like to a bear.* This, according to the succession of the empires in history, which is the most faithful interpreter of Prophecies, must be the Medo-Persian empire. So that there is less need to take notice what interpreters have observed of congruity, in the making a bear the symbol of the Medo-Persian monarchy: As that Persia is notorious for the breeding of the fiercer sort, as well as plenty of those animals: That what is most notorious in the bear, that he can live on little or no meat for a long time, is likewise

significant of the great abstinence and hardship of the Persians, and what a mean diet they use to satisfy themselves with, as Xenophon has taken notice in his *Περικύβητος παιδείας*, and the like. Upon which it is less necessary to insist; there being further characters of this empire in the text itself.

— *And it raised up itself on one side.* That is, it rear'd up itself to fight against only one party of men, namely, the Gentiles, as if we should conceive the world divided into two parts, Jews, or the people of God, and Gentiles. The sense is, he meddled not with the Jews (but favoured them, as is notorious from the decrees of Cyrus, and of others his successors in the behalf of the Jews,) but only with the heathen party. It is also Grotius his gloss, *Judæa nihil nocuit*, which interpretation he confirms from the authority of St. Jerom, who professes he follows the Jews therein, and the thing is abundantly reasonable in it self. Whence it is a plain characteristick of this empire of Cyrus and his successors, that were kind to the Jews, according to that of Isaiah, chap. xlv. 28. *That saith of Cyrus he is my shepherd, and shall perform all my pleasure; even saying to Jerusalem, thou shalt be built, and to the temple, thy foundation shall be laid.*

— *And it had three ribs in the mouth of it, between the teeth of it.* These three ribs, says Grotius, are Persia, Media, and Chaldaea, which were three notorious parts of the Medo-Persian empire, (and ribs signify the strength of a man according to Achmetes,) and others agree with Grotius herein. But some by these three ribs would have understood three several coasts of the world subdued by the Medo-Persian monarchs, by Cyrus the eastern part, by Cambyses the southern, viz. Egypt and Ethiopia, and by Darius Hystaspis the northern, namely, the Scythians.

— *And they said unto it, arise, devour much flesh.* Whether this may be *Vox Divinitus emissæ*, i. e. a voice from God, an intimation from Heaven, or as it is said in Virgil,

— *Sua cuique Deus sit dira Cupido.*

Which may be interpreted, *Success makes man the more greedy of dominion*, I don't determine; tho' the cruel and bloody feats in the mean time of the Medo-Persian monarchs are here signified, whether they were stirred up as a scourge to the wicked world, or their own ambition prick'd them on to make a prey of so many countries, and to make a spoil of their riches, which by flesh are understood in the ontirocriticks. Which therefore seems to indicate the spoil of the more civilized parts of the world which were grown rich and luxurious. In the mean time, besides the order of reckoning, there are indications enough from the characters of this empire itself, that it must be the Medo-Persian. But the most substantial is, that it succeeds the Babylonian.

Ver. 6. *After this I beheld, and lo another like a leopard.* Succession here again is enough to assure us that this is the Greek empire, because the Medo-Persian was put an end to by Alexander, whose victories with his armies were so swift, that in this regard a leopard is a fit symbol of this empire, that animal, besides the extraordinary velocity of it, jumping upon his prey, as naturalists observe. And there was a wonderful dispatch and celerity in Alexander's conquests, who in the space of six years subdued not only all Asia, but a great part of Europe and Africk. The variety of the spots of that animal, Grotius will have to set out the diversity or uncertainty of the genius of Alexander, the first founder of the Greek empire, as being one strangely variegated with notable virtues, and as notable vices, giving a specimen now of one, and then of another in no small degree, and that of those very contrary. And that his body had a sweet and pleasant smell, as the leopard is reported to have, and very grateful to other animals, and that the leopard as well as Alexander loves wine. These things also are noted by interpreters, which makes the leopard still a more fit symbol of the Greek empire. Some also think that the levity, uncertainty, and fallaciousness of the Greek nation is notified in the diversity of spots in the leopard's skin. But what follows in the text will sufficiently confirm to us that this third beast is the Greek empire.

— *Which had upon the back of it four wings of a fowl.* These wings in the general signification of them assuredly denote the celerity of Alexander's conquests, as they are wings; but as four, they betoken the division of his empire into four parts after his death, or into four kingdoms;

as also what follows, denotes the four several successions of kings in these kingdoms.

— *The beast had also four heads.*] As the Roman empire is represented by a beast with *ten horns*, because it was to be divided into ten kingdoms at last, so this leopard is represented with four heads, because after Alexander's death, the Greek empire was to be divided into four kingdoms; Philippus Arridæus the brother of Alexander, or rather Cassander, enjoying the kingdom of Macedonia (for Arridæus reigned not more than seven months) Ptolemaus Lagi Fil. the kingdom of Ægypt and Africk; Lysimachus the kingdom of Thracia, and Antigonus the kingdom of Asia minor. Than which what can be desired for a more certain character of the Greek empire, or a surer argument that the Greek empire did not expire with Alexander's death, but was continued in the successions of those four kingdoms so long as they lasted, and till some other empire may rationally be thought to put an end to their computation; as when Æmylius Paulus the Roman consul vanquished Perseus, the last king of Macedonia? Which gave in a special manner the denomination to the Greek or Macedonick empire.

— *And dominion was given unto it.*] Alexander's conquests were so exceeding marvellous, and so extremely overproportionate to the number of his soldiers, and the space of time he achieved them in, that a man may rationally think that [dominion being given to him,] may have a more peculiar meaning here than in other places. So the empire, which he is said to acquire, was rather a meer gift of Divine Providence, than any acquisition by his own strength, policy, or vigilancy. For what was his thirty thousand men, when he was to conflict, one while with an hundred and fifty thousand, anon with four hundred thousand, and at last with near ten hundred thousand, Darius Codomannus bringing so many into the field against him? And when notice was given to him by his captains, he was found in such a dead sleep, that they could hardly awaken him, and yet he had scarce rubb'd his eyes, as Calvin expresses the dispatch of his victory, but Darius fled, his army was routed, and forty thousand of his men slain with the loss of less than three hundred of the Greeks, as Quintus Curtius relates. Calvin's expression here is indeed hyperbolical. But for the main the characteristics of this third empire are so remarkable and notorious, that he must be very bad-sighted that does not plainly perceive the said empire to be the Greek or Macedonick.

Ver. 7. *After this I saw in the night visions, &c.*] In this Divine or supernatural dream communicated to me from God. *And behold a fourth beast*, that is, a fourth empire, and particularly the Roman. For what empire should succeed the Greek or Macedonick empire, but the Roman that vanquished it, as the Greek the Persian, and the Persian the Babylonian? That this fourth beast, or fourth empire, is the Roman empire, is so fully and evidently demonstrated against Grotius, in the Synopsis Prophetica, book ii. chap. 13. that no rational man, I think, if he read considerately, can ever for the future doubt thereof. And how suitable the description is in the vision all along, we shall now see.

— *Dreadful and terrible, and strong exceedingly, and it had great iron teeth.*] As this fourth kingdom is also represented in the vision of the image, chap. ii. by the *iron legs* thereof, so the strength of it here is set out by its great *iron teeth*, because both import that it is *strong exceedingly*, for that metal is exceeding strong. And the courage, cruelty, and exceeding largeness of the Roman empire must needs make it dreadful and terrible. Which some conceive it to have been in so great a measure, as no one wild beast could be a sufficient symbol to set off the terrible cruelty thereof. Amongst other specimens of which that bloody and savage persecution, first, of the Pagan Roman empire against the primitive Christians, and then of the Pagano-Christian against the Waldenses and Albigenes, and innumerable others that professed and stuck to the pure Christian faith, is astonishing and ineffable, and exceeding the savageness of any wild beast whatsoever, that we may not want a reason why this fourth beast is without name.

— *It devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with the feet of it.*] That is, the Romans subdued and brought under many kingdoms and nations, devoured their wealth, and incorporated them into their empire;

and whom they could not so perfectly subdue, yet they harassed their countries, and by enriching some of their clients, by giving others lands or revenues to them, they trampled upon those whom they could not so perfectly devour and digest into the body of their empire. *Illa igitur astuta liberalitas*, says Calvin, *vocatur convulsio; quod residuum, quia scilicet non poterant vorare & absumere suis dentibus, pedibus suis calcarent*, i. e. *That crafty liberality is called a treading under foot, because the residue, which they could not devour and consume with their teeth, they stamp under their feet*; which is an allusion to the practice of wild beasts, which, after they have gorged their appetite, stamp upon that part of their prey which they can't devour: So those conquests, which the Romans could not conveniently hold, they delivered them up for a prey, and a spoil to their allies: See Calvin upon the place.

— *And it was diverse from all the beasts that went before it.*] Forasmuch as they being absolute monarchies, this fourth beast consisted of two consuls and a senate, (dictators also were sometimes chosen,) and in after times of a mangle-mangle of popes and emperors, &c. *And it had ten horns*, answering to the *ten toes* of the iron legs of the image, that is to say, this Roman empire was at last divided into ten kingdoms, as the Greek empire was into four. That these ten horns belong to the Roman empire, Grotius himself is fain to acknowledge in his commentary on the Revelations, though with might and main he endeavours to distort and obscure the sense of that book to the utmost he can. But by virtue of the apocalyptic synchronisms, and the clear and undeniable sense of the seventeenth chapter of that book, these ten horns must be the Roman empire divided into ten kingdoms after the empire became Christian, and was beginning to imitate the pagans in their worship and practice, and grow idolatrous again. *This* therefore is the time, and *there* the ten horns of the beast.

Ver. 8. *I considered the horns, &c.*] Which is said by Daniel to excite us to a close consideration of these horns to see what we can espy there. *And behold there came up among them another little horn.* And this more especially was the object of Daniel's, and ought to be of our consideration, what this *little horn*, that is said to be *another horn*, (among them indeed, but distinct from them) may mean. This *little horn* therefore is an *additional* to the *ten horns* here, as the *two-horned beast* and the *whore* are *additional* to the *ten-horned beast*, Revelations, chap. xiii. and xvii. Which most peculiarly is the papal polity or hierarchy. Now let us see how this suits with the text.

— *Before whom there were three of the first*, namely, of the first kind, and first mentioned, viz. secular, *horns pluck'd up by the roots.*] Vatablus in his translation has it out of the Chaldee thus, *Tria autem ex cornibus prioribus evulsa sunt a facie ejus*, i. e. *Three of the former horns were plucked out from his forehead*. Whereby is signified only the removal from before his [the pope's] face, they stood in his light it seems. Whereas they would have or had fixed themselves so near him to his prejudice, he made shift to get them pull'd away. But this you must conceive could not be till the pope had ascended unto that rampancy of power, that he would excommunicate emperors, and depose them if need were, or absolve their subjects from allegiance, and seize their lands. In which time the pope becoming the monarch as it were of the Roman empire, the emperors so called whether Greek or German, may well take their places among the ten horns, especially the secular empire of old Rome being dissolved, which gave the name or title to the Roman empire, as Macedonia did to the Macedonick empire. This premised, what Mr. Mede says on this text is very agreeable, that the three horns pulled away from before the little horn is the power extending into Italy, of the Greek emperors, of the Lombards, and of the Franks continuing in the empire of Germany. All these three powers or horns he made shift to rid himself of, that he might the more easily domineer in Italy without any corival, as is sufficiently made out by history.

— *And behold in this horn were eyes like the eyes of a man.*] This is another main observation in this *little horn*, that it had *eyes*, when none of the rest are said to have so. Which is a notorious difference, and hugely significant of a power that will pretend to lead all the rest of the horns, as being themselves destitute of sight. And the papal hierarchy

rarchy how cunning and quick-sighted a polity it has been, and how far they pretend, and how active assistants they are, even in civil affairs, is very apparent in history.

But I conceive this does not exhaust all the meaning of these eyes in the *little horn*, and of the other horns *having none*. Which may more peculiarly represent the difference betwixt this hierarchical power in the empire, and the secular of the *ten kings*, who, in matters of faith and religion, are to have *no eyes* of their own, but to profess and believe *as this horn* [the pope,] who pretends to have the *only eyes*, tells them, and to be led in a blind implicit faith and profession of whatsoever this *seeing horn* declares to be articles of the Christian Religion, and requisite to salvation. And this *little horn* having this hank upon them, you may be sure will require them to believe such things as tend most for the greatness, power, and riches of the papal hierarchy. And all the gross and intolerable corruptions of their church, whether touching faith or practice, are invented or upheld for this very end, and upon this very advantage, that the *little horn* is thought only to have the eyes in matters of faith and religion, but the other ten horns to be quite blind.

But lastly, though this little horn pretends to the only sight and infallibility in matters of religion, as if it were inspired so from God that it cannot err; yet the very character which the Prophecy gives it, doth advertise us, that this is but a *bold boast* amongst the rest, and that these are really but the eyes of a man, even of that *man of sin*, or *antichrist*, that exalts himself above all that is called God, or worshipped.

For, by this little horn *antichrist* is characterized, according to the common and current opinion of the ancient fathers, as the Romish interpreters themselves cannot but confess, though they were (as I may say wilfully) mistaken in the time of his coming.

— And a mouth speaking great things. That is, uttering great boasts of his own power and infallibility. For this papal hierarchy pretend him, to be above all kings and emperors, as to their miraculous power, that they can by certain words turn a piece of bread into a man, with flesh and blood, and all essentials of human nature; nay, into God after a manner, and infallibly declare, 'tis no idolatry to worship this thus transubstantiated bread, though it seem still bread to all, and is believed still to be so by all, but by those that see only by the eyes of this *little horn*, and so trust his eyes only, and renounce in the mean time the use of their own eyes, and all their senses; nay, of reason, and the plain light of the Scripture. Their pretence also of consecrating images to the effectually keeping off thunder and lightning, and incursion of the enemies, and the like, may be reckoned amongst other their boasts. But this speaking great things may more especially respect the great vaunts of the papal authoritative power, he being called by the pontifical polity, our Lord God, *Optimum Maximum & Supremum numen in terris*; i. e. The Supreme Deity on earth: It being declared by them, that his tribunal, and God's, is all one. That his power is absolute. That what he does, he does as God, and not as man. That he is all and above all. That he has the disposing of kingdoms, can pull down one and set up another. That he can do all that God can do. That he can change the nature of things, make something of nothing, make injustice justice, and wrong right. That all laws are in his breast. That he can dispense with the canons of the Apostles, and with the New Testament itself. That he is the cause of causes. That it is sacrilege to doubt of his power. That he has dominion over Angels, purgatory and hell. That he is the monarch of the world, and exceeds the imperial majesty as much as the sun does the moon. And, that he is to be adored by all the potentates of the earth. This, and more than this, you may see made good by bishop Downham in his treatise *de antichristo*, for above fifty pages together. And is not this a mouth speaking great things indeed? And is not this part of the Prophecy also remarkably fulfilled, understanding by the *little horn* that man of sin or antichrist, that thus exalts himself above all that is called God or worshipped, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming? Which thing is exhibited in the following part of the vision:

Ver. 9. *I beheld till the thrones were cast down, &c.* The word in the original might as well be rendred, *set down* or *placed*, which is the most natural sense and most coherent with what follows. Here note, that the fourth monarchy being to continue till the consummation of all things, the General Judgment is described in this, and in the following verses, wherein sentence was to pass upon this fourth beast, and an end put to its dominion.

— And the ancient of days did sit. Namely, God the Father, who though he is not before the other two hypostases of the Blessed Trinity in time, yet he is in order of nature. He sat in his throne together with the chiefest of the Angelical Orders in their thrones or seats, to make up the solemnity of the Judgment.

— Whose garment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like the pure wool. Whiteness here by interpreters is look'd upon, that of his head as an emblem of mature counsel and judgment, with a suitableness to his title of the *ancient of days*, that of his garment as a symbol of pure unspotted righteousness and impartiality in judgment. And this appearance of this first hypostases in general in white, may denote the proper character of his nature. Which the Platonists call the *To iv*, and the *Tayaδov*, which imply an ineffable simplicity and benignity, and who would not have the world judged by such a judge? But before we leave this text, let it be carefully observed, that tho' in this Divine representation, there is mention made of the *hair of the head*, as there is, in that vouchsafed to Moses and the elders of Israel, of the *feet*; Exod. xxiv. 10. yet we are not to suppose, that in either place, any determinate shape or figure, like that of a man was represented; for those expressions only import, that both the upper and lower part of this Divine *Shechinah*, was of an amazing inexpressible brightness.

— His throne was like the fiery flame, and his wheels like the burning fire. viz. Such was the splendor of his throne and of the wheels thereof, bright, sparkling, and shining like fire and light. This is a description of the Divine *Shechinah*, not much unlike that in Ezekiel, chap. i. and 10. This is a chariot-like throne, as that a throne-like chariot; and as the wheels there as well as living creatures are Angelical, so there are Angels here innumerable in this great session sitting with the Ancient of Days, or assisting, while he sits in his imperial throne drawn with wheels, Angelical wheels, by whose ministry is the revolution of all states and kingdoms: though in the mean time there may be also an allusion in these wheels to the *sellæ curules*, or *chairs of state*, that ran upon wheels, in use of the days of old.

Ver. 10. *A fiery stream issued and came forth from before him.* i. e. Lightnings and streams of fire are here represented to be the harbingers of God, to give notice of his speedy approach to judge the world, compared with Pl. 1. 3. xcvi. 3. Tho' Grotius says, that the Chaldees ends it, *Flumen igneum manabat ab ore ejus egredientis*, i. e. *A fiery stream issued out of his mouth*. The brightness of this appearance, and the mention of this fiery stream coming out of his mouth, (like that blast of fire and flaming breath, 2 Esdr. xiii.) suits excellently well with that passage, 2 Thess. ii. *Whom (antichrist) the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming*. Which shall be by the clear demonstration of the power of his spirit so manifestly appearing in his true Church, of whom Jesus Christ is and ever has been the living head, the same which is the Son of Man, which is hereafter exhibited in this vision, namely, *Christ*, together with his true and living Church.

But in the mean time, I leave to the ingenious reader's consideration, whether that fiery stream and flaming breath coming out of the mouth of the *Ancient of Days*, God the Father, may not be a symbol of the procession of the Holy Ghost, the third hypostases or person of the Holy Trinity, as well as the Son of Man plainly represents to us the second. For, who can doubt, but that it is a representation of Christ, the human nature of the Messiah united with the eternal *logos*, and according to his Divinity every where existing in the Father, as well as according to his humanity he is here represented distinctly from him?

— Thousand thousands ministered unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him. This judgment of the little horn is so magnificently set out, as it is

were the last Judgment of all; and I do not doubt but that it alludes to it, and imports as much as, in his retirement was an *innumerable company of Angels*, according to *Deut. xxxiii. 2. 1. 1. lxviii. 17. Heb. xii. 22. Revel. v. 11.*

— *The Judgment was set.*] The Court, God as the supreme Judge, and the Saints as his assessors, made their publick appearance. For, the expressions alludes to the feasts in the Jewish contitories, where the *Abnib din*, or president of the court, had his assistants sitting with him; or as some think, to the ancient custom among the Jews for the princes, or heads of the tribes, to sit with the kings in the courts of justice.

— *The books were opened.*] i. e. The books of God's laws, and mens actions, *Rev. xx.* which phrase is an allusion to the rolls and records belonging to courts of judicature. So this sitting of the Judgment, &c. corresponds with that *Rev. xx. 11, 12.* Where there is a white throne and the books are opened, and this is at the Final Judgment, and General Resurrection, immediately preceding the conflagration, which in another sense this fiery description here in Daniel, suits very well with, and then the fiery stream out of the mouth of the *Ancient of Days*, will presignify that final sentence, *Depart from me ye accursed into everlasting fire.* See *Isaiah xxx. 33.*

But ver. 4. of the same chapter, *And I saw thrones, and they sat upon them, &c.* This answers to the ninth verse of this seventh of Daniel, *And I beheld till the thrones were set.* For these thrones are set to judge the little horn, the same with the *whore* or *false prophet*, which is said, together with the *beast*, *Revel. xix.* to be taken and cast both alive into a lake of fire burning with brimstone, which is to come to pass under the seventh vial; which immediately precedes the coming down of the new Jerusalem, and the reign of the Saints. Here is only the difference betwixt these two sessions, that the apocalyptick session mentions only the reign of the Saints, this the instant dooming and executing the doom of the little horn in order thereto, and the giving the Son of Man the kingdom. But being that *corruptio unius is generatio alterius*, i. e. the corruption of one, is the generation of another thing; and the things are so closely connected, we may very well admit that these preceding sessions or sentences declared therein, have a considerable correspondence one with another, that in the Revelations manifestly belonging to this part of this judgment here in Daniel, that gives the kingdom to the Son of Man. So that so far the correspondence is palpable.

Ver. 11. *I beheld then because of the voice of the great words which the horn spake.*] Namely, such blustering and boasting words as were recited above upon ver. 8. to see what would become of this horn that so magnified himself above all, and had acted accordingly in deposing kings and trampling upon the necks of emperors, and murdering, massacring and burning, God knows how, many hundred thousand of innocent Christians for not submitting to his tyranny and idolatry.

— *I beheld eventill the beast was slain, and his body destroyed, and given to the burning flame.*] What then, is the beast destroyed and the little horn escape punishment? No. The Prophet therefore here relates what was the final destruction of this fourth and last beast, and of that little horn belonging to it, and coming up after the rest of the horns, ver. 24. This therefore is a very compendious and elliptical form of speech. But the sense is fully made out by St. John, *Revel. xix. 20.* Where it is written, *And the beast was taken, and with him the false prophet, that wrought miracles before him, with which he deceived them that had received the mark of the beast, and them that had worshipped his image. These both were cast alive into a lake of fire, burning with brimstone.* For, it is impossible but the little horn must be concerned in that destruction of the beast, himself being the two-horned beast in the Revelations, chap. xiii. but in the sixth chapter stiled the *false prophet*, because of his false pretence to infallibility. *And the beast was taken*, says he, *and with him the false prophet that wrought miracles before him*, that is, who transubstantiated bread into a man, and brought fire from Heaven, and had power over purgatory and hell, thither to strike innocent souls by his thundering excommunications. *These both were cast alive into a lake of fire burning with brimstone.* And thus the fourth empire, the Roman, as to its idolatrous tyranny, of which the pope makes himself the

head, as his canonists and divines declare, is quite demolished under the seventh vial.

Ver. 12. *As concerning the rest of the beasts they had their dominion taken away.*] That is, and if any one shall be so curious as to enquire what became of the rest of the beasts, the other three above-mentioned, let that suffice that their dominion was taken away; and that, *yet their lives were prolonged for a season and time*; they had their certain periods allowed them too, by the doom of the *Ancient of Days*. For, tho' in the succession of the first monarchies, the succeeding monarchy took away the dominion of that which went before, yet it was not done all at once, but by degrees; and the nations where those monarchies were seated, still had a being, tho' they changed their masters. Whereas the destruction of the last monarchy, implied the putting an end to that empire, and to all other earthly governments; when the kingdom of Christ should take place. This is enough as touching them, but the great business of all is touching the fourth beast, the Roman empire; forasmuch as the true Church of Christ for so long a space of time is so much concerned therein, and therefore that deserves more special observation and enlargement. The affairs of the Jews under the three first beasts are not considerable, in respect of these of the Christians. And therefore the three first beasts in this vision seem to be brought in merely as a preamble to the fourth; and the fourth with the three first to be first described, as being of one sort, namely, idolatrous. But then there is a fifth kingdom, which is Christ, with his true Church commencing in the Apostles times, and lasting till the end of the world; of which in the following verse.

Ver. 13. *I saw in the night visions, and behold, one like the son of man.*] One in the shape and likeness of a man; but clothed with such ensigns of majesty, as shewed him to be an extraordinary person, even the Son of God, or the Messiah; for, the Son of man is a title which Christ so inculcatedly assumes to himself, to whom the kingdom does belong, that it is impossible but he should have a regard to this very place, in the so perpetually using that title touching himself. And therefore it being Christ, it is plain that the second person of the Holy Trinity is here exhibited in this Divine Vision, as well as the first and third, as I have noted, they all three are in the vision of Ezekiel. This title of Christ, *the Son of Man*, occurs in innumerable places; tho' I shall name none, but that of *Matth. xxvi. 64.* When the high-priest had adjured him to tell him if he was Christ the Son of God, *Jesus saith unto him, thou hast said. Nevertheless I say unto thee, (though thou hast hit it already, yet I will give thee a further confirmation thereof,) Hereafter shall you see the Son of Man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of Heaven*; namely, as it were at the head of the Roman army, to take vengeance of the murderous unbelieving Jews; I say, the Roman army out of which people he was to raise to himself his kingdom, the Church. Which yet was but *regnum lapidis*, i. e. the kingdom of the stone, as I noted in the foregoing vision, but would be in time *regnum montis*, i. e. the kingdom of the mountain.

— *Came with the clouds of Heaven.*] To be carried with the clouds of Heaven, denotes that a king shall be master of his enemies, and get glorious victory, saith *Achmetes*. And the destruction of the Jews was the establishing of the Church of Christ, or his kingdom among the Gentiles, the Romans especially, whose empire became at last Christian. *And came to the Ancient of Days, and they brought him near before him*, presented him as a candidate for the designed kingdom, which signifies that Christ received his kingdom from his father. See *Mat. xi. 27. xxviii. 18. John iii. 35. 1 Cor. xv. 27. Eph. i. 21. Philip. ii. 7, 10. Rev. v. 7. Jer. xxx. 21.*

Ver. 14. *And there was given him dominion and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, and nations, and languages should serve him.*] That is, that some of all people should serve him in the pure Apostolick way of doctrine and worship; and indeed the whole Roman empire in a manner did so for a while after Constantine's time, till the apostacy came in by the emperor Julian. Which small interval of time in this vision is not taken notice of, as being inconsiderable. But in the mean time it may be here seasonable to note, that this right of the kingdom being given to the Son of Man, answers to the first vision of the *seals*, the

the vision of the *heroes on the white horse*, with a bow in his hand, and who had a *crown given unto him*, Rev. vi. 2. the right of the imperial crown. So that this part of Daniel's vision here commences with the epocha of the Revelations, or the beginning of Christianity. For there seems four sentences to have been represented in this judicial session of the Ancient of Days, (besides that touching the three beasts, ver. 12.) one assigning the kingdom in general to the Son of Man; the other, the judgment of the little horn; the third, the giving of the more enlarged kingdom to the Son of Man upon the destruction of the little horn; and the fourth, the final doom of all, at the Day of Judgment properly so called. But there is only a slight or brief intimation of the first and the last; but that of the little horn is insisted on, the abolishing of his power, and the giving the great enlargement of the kingdom, the *regnum montis*, to the Saints of the most High. For, upon the destruction of antichrist, the *little horn* of the fourth beast, the *stone* which Nebuchadnezzar saw in his first vision, was to become a great *mountain*; ch. ii. 35. and then all the ancient Prophecies are to be accomplished, which spake of the uninterrupted glory and universality of Christ's kingdom. See Ps. ii. 7, 8. viii. 6. cx. 1. Isa. ii. 2, 3, 4. And the universality of Christ's dominion will be industriously displayed at the Day of Judgment, when all the world shall be summoned to appear before his Judgment-Seat, erected in the clouds of Heaven: See Rom. xiv. 10, 11. where it is written: *We shall all stand before the Judgment-Seat of Christ. For, it is written, as I live, saith the Lord, every knee shall bow to me, and every tongue shall confess to God.* Or, as it follows;

—His dominion is an everlasting dominion which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed.] The true Church which is the genuine kingdom of Christ, and of which he alone is the head as being universal, never yet from the beginning thereof has failed, nor ever will fail to the end of the world: See ver. 27.

Ver. 15. *I Daniel was grieved in my spirit, in the midst of my body, and the visions of my head, upon my bed, troubled me.*] I was very anxious to know what the meaning of this vision might be, whose terrible appearance made an extraordinary impression upon my spirits. See ver. 28. ch. viii. 27. x. 8.

—In the midst of my body.] The original reads in the midst of my sheath, which is a metaphor used by several Heathen writers, who call the body the sheath of the soul. See Pliny's Nat. Hist. lib. vii. c. 52. and Seneca, Epist. 92.

Ver. 16. *I came near to one of them that stood by.*] To one of the Assistant-Angels in this great session, not to those that were placed on thrones. And asked him the truth of all this; the plain meaning of this prophetic parable. So he told me, and made me know the interpretation of things; as follows; and first in general.

Ver. 17. *These great beasts which are four, are four kings.*] Four kingdoms or empires, viz. the Babylonian, Medo-Persian, Greek and Roman. For so the word *king* is used for *kingdom* in Isa. xxiii. 15.

—Which shall arise out of the earth.] And therefore are but earthly kingdoms, minding earthly things here below; or, as St. Paul expresses it, these kingdoms shall be of the earth, earthly, i. e. they shall have nothing of an heavenly spirit in them; whereas the kingdom of Christ is an heavenly kingdom, to be possessed by the Saints, as follows:

Ver. 18. *But the Saints of the most High.*] Or, as the original may be interpreted, of the Most High God, or of Christ; who is called in the Revelations, *King of kings, and Lord of lords, shall take the kingdom*, of the stone, *regnum lapidis*, from the first planting of the Gospel, but *regnum montis*, the kingdom of the mountains, upon the destruction of the little horn.

—And possess the kingdom for ever, even for ever and ever.] That is, the true Church of Christ shall never fail till the end of the world, as was intimated above.

Ver. 19. *Then I would know the truth, the true meaning, of the fourth beast which was divers from all others, &c.*] See this verse explained before, at ver. 7.

Ver. 20. *And of the ten horns that were in his head.*] And of the other especially which came up. For the interpretation is most spent in describing it, ver. 24, 25.

And before whom three fell, those three I above named. Even of that horn that had eyes, and would admit no other horn to have eyes besides it self, especially in spirituals. And a mouth that spoke very great things, both against the law of God, which this horn the papal power pretends to have a right to dispense with and act contrary to, and against the right of kings and emperors, whom he pretends a power of excommunicating and deposing, and absolving their subjects from their oath of allegiance, if they submit to the decrees of his infallible mouth, which will be sure to pronounce nothing that is not agreeable to the worldly interest of his Holy Church. For this horn has the eyes of a man merely, and directs all by the measure of human policy, let him pretend never so much to inspired infallibility.

—Whose look was more stout than his fellows.] That is, who has a bold assured look, affecting the greatest grandeur imaginable, as pretending to be *Lord of the whole world*, in whose presence his fellow-horns did but sneak, as whose stirrup they are teign to hold; even emperors themselves as well as kings and other princes, when this little horn is to ride on horseback; and to bear on the shoulders his chair when he will be carried in state; to hold the bason and towel when he washes his hands; and in publick assemblies to sit at his feet; and if they will not be dutiful enough, to be trod upon by his feet, as Frederick Barbarossa was served by Pope Alexander the third, who treading upon his neck in the sight of the people with a big look and loud voice, abused that of the Psalmist to his barbarous insulting over the emperor, *super aspidem & leonem ambulabis, &c.* Thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder, &c. These hints are enough to shew how fully this part of the Prophecy is accomplished [whose look was more stout than his fellows.]

Ver. 21. *I beheld, and the same horn (namely, the little horn) made war with the Saints and prevailed against them.*] That is, the papal power by using the forces of the ten horns or secular power makes war against the Saints, the true Apostolick Church, that stand out and cannot admit the gross corruptions and idolatrous usages of the little horn. This answers to that of the Revelations ch. xiii. 7. *And it was given unto him to make war with the Saints, and to overcome them.* It is spoken there of the *ten-horned beast* as the executioner of the war, but in Daniel of the *little horn*, as the instigator or authorizer of the war. But this, in the mean time, is no small token, that the times of the *little horn* belong to the times of the *ten-horned beast* bealed; which are the times of the apostasy of the Church.

Ver. 22. *Until the ancient of days come.*] viz. Till he proceeded to that part of the judgment that pronounced sentence against the little horn.

—And judgment was given to the Saints of the most high.] That is, the Saints were admitted to sit in judgment with God and Christ; or as others have interpreted this place, the sentence was pronounced on their side, God so generally convincing the world of the truth of their cause.

—And the time came that the Saints possessed the kingdom.] Namely, after the evidence of the truth of their cause was so well known to the world; the Saints then reigned with Christ in his kingdom.

Ver. 23. *Thus he said, The fourth beast shall be the fourth kingdom upon earth.*] Namely, the Roman state or empire. Which shall be divers from all kingdoms, as having a political constitution different from them, as being managed under different forms of government: Having the form of commonwealth at the beginning of its greatness, and afterwards governed by emperors: And in process of time, being divided into ten kingdoms or principalities, and all of them under the direction of one spiritual head.

Ver. 24. *And the ten horns out of this kingdom are the ten kings that shall arise.*] An horn is an emblem of strength, so it comes to signify power and authority; and from thence it is applied to denote sovereignty and dominion. Now, these ten horns or kingdoms arise out of the desolation of the Roman empire, which came to pass about the year of Christ 476. and was divided into the following principalities or kingdoms, according to Mr. Mede, p. 661. 1. Britons. 2. Saxons. 3. Franks. 4. Burgundians. 5. Visigoths. 6. Suevians and Alans. 7. Vandals. 8.

Al-

Almanes 9. Ostrogoths: succeeded by the Longobards first in Pannonia and then in Italy. 10. Greeks. For which see the following observations.

The Roman empire, ver. 7. is described under one interval of its period to have ten horns, so that it is the same ten-horned beast that occurs in the Revelations. And, ver. 8. it is said that there came up among them another little horn, which naturally implies that it came up much about the same time with them, though in what here follows it is said,

— *And another shall arise after them.* Which is no contradiction to the former supposing in order he came up last, so that it was not any considerable time after, or it be understood of his more sensible growth or palpable appearance: though the Hebrew word implies no necessity of signifying any posterity of time, but that he might spring up with them and amongst them, but in such an occult manner, and so unawares, as if he had stolen his growth behind them. For so the Septuagint render it, *ἐν ἑνὶ ἀνθρώπῳ*, and the word in the original will bear the sense very well, signifying order of place as well as of time, accordingly as the Septuagint have translated it. But the time of the ten-horned healed beast being the time of the apostasy of the Church, and he being actually ten-horned and headed at the same time, (For the crowned ten horns which shew their actual reign, appear only on the healed beast's head, as shall be noted in the Exposition of the Revelations,) and the *little horn* being said to arise among them or with them, though the other horns were not aware of him, as having *no eyes*, though the *little horn* have the *eyes of a man*, of a cunning perspicacious politician; it is manifest that the growth of the little horn began with the apostasy of the Church, and so the little horn may well be suspected of helping it on, being most concerned in matters of religion to manage them well or ill, as being that sacerdotal polity or hierarchy, as is intimated in what follows. *And he shall be divers from the first*, namely, from the other ten horns, they being laick or civil, this ecclesiastick or spiritual, and temporal; for such was the papal power, that it lays claim to a temporal power also, asserting a right to dispose of secular affairs. *And*, under pretence of this ecclesiastick power,

— *He shall subdue three kings.* The three kings which he is said to humble, subdue, or supplant, are, as I have hinted above, those three whose dominions extended into Italy, as that of the Greek emperor Leo Isaurus, who was excommunicated by the popes Gregory the 2d and 3d, and his subjects of Italy were absolved by them from their allegiance, because he was against image-worship. The other supplanting or subduing is of the Lombards, whose kingdom he caused, by aid of the Franks, to be wholly ruined thereby, to get the exarchate of Ravenna, (which since the revolt from the Greeks the Longobards were seized on) for a patrimony to St. Peter. And the last of the three which he humbled were the emperors of Germany, whom from the days of Henry IV. he excommunicated, deposed, and trampled under his feet, and never suffered to live in rest till he had made them quit their interest in election of popes, and investitures of Bishops, and whatever remainder of jurisdiction they had in Italy. See Mr. Mede, Epist. 24. Thus did this *horn with eyes*, whose *look* was more *fiat* than his fellows.

Ver. 25. *And he shall speak great words against the most High.* It is rightly translated, *great words*, because that phrase touching the little horn, has been used so oft already, ver. 8—11—20. where either *great things* or *great words* occur: and there cannot be a more fit and authentick commentary on these passages, than that in the Revelations, ch. xiii. 5, 6. *And there was given unto him a mouth speaking great things and blasphemies*; where *great things* are expounded by *blasphemies*. And in the following verse he shews how these blasphemies are against God the Most High, many examples whereof I have given above upon verse 8. *And he opened his mouth in blasphemy against God to blaspheme his name, his authority and titles, and his tabernacle, and them that dwell in Heaven.* The ten-horned beast is said here to reproach them by allowing, authorizing, and enforcing (against the decrees and authority of God, which is also a blaspheming of his name,) those blasphemous decrees of the *two-horned beast*, (which is the same with the *little horn*, they being both the papal polity or hierarchy, the ecclesiastick autho-

riety not the laick or secular,) for image-worship, for Saint-worship, and worship of Angels, and for transubstantiation, which is a reproach to the tabernacle of God, the body of Christ. It is sufficient here to note, how well the deeds of the *little horn* suited with those of the *ten-horned healed beast*, who is but the abettor and executioner of what the two-horned beast would have. And therefore when it is said the *little horn* here speaks great words against the Most High, it is all one as if it were said of the *ten-horned beast* in the Revelations, nor is it any repugnancy to understand it of them both. For this which is said of the ten-horned beast is to be look'd upon as the mere eccho of the draconick voice of the beast with *two horns*. So agreeable in every point in Daniel with the Revelations.

— *And shall sever out the Saints of the most High.* By persecutions, imprisonments, confiscation of goods, by burnings, cruelties or wars, and massacres, upon which this little horn will put the ten horns as his occasions require, as is also noted in this chapter of Daniel, ver. 21.

— *And think to change times and laws.* To alter the primitive simplicity of the Christian religion into a constitution that best serves the interest of his papal kingdom, and the increasing the revenues and the power of Holy Church, as they call it. All superstitions never so idolatrous, all doctrines never so monstrous, shall pass into a law and decree, if they serve this end. For the papal omnipotency has a power to make what laws and institutes he pleases; all edicts and decrees lodge in the cabinet of his own breast; when he may produce what he pleases, if you will believe his Canonists. So that, as they teach, he may alter governments and institutions. As the Popes has often attempted by claiming a power to depose kings, and set up others in their stead, and not only to abrogate human laws, but likewise to dispense with Divine Ones.

— *And they shall be given unto his hands for a time, and times, and the dividing of a time.* Or half a time. *i. e.* And they shall be established, authorized, and enforced by the secular power of the ten-horned beast, as was observed above. To whom (Revel. xiii. 5.) power was given to continue *forty and two months*, which is just the same time with Daniel's *time and times, and half a time*, in the literal sense, each of the sums amounting to three years and a half a-piece, or 1260 days. But in the prophetic style they signify so many years. And that they are prophetic days, not vulgar, is invincibly proved in the Synopsis Prophetica, Book ii. chap. v. Wherefore it is highly rational to conceive the times of the little horn to synchronize with all the middle synchronals of the Revelations.

Ver. 26. *But the judgment shall sit.* To judge the little horn or papal hierarchy, which is the two-horned beast in the Revelations, or the whore of Babylon. To this alludes that saying of the Angel, Revel. xvii. *And there came seven Angels which had the seven vials and talked unto me, I will shew unto thee the judgment of the great whore that sitteth upon many waters, with whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication.* And part of this judgment is threatened against her in the Epistle to the Church in Thyatira, Revel. ii. 20. under the name of Jezebel, who calleth herself a prophetess, but seduces Christ's servants to commit fornication, and to eat things sacrificed unto idols. Which Prophetess so called by herself is the papal hierarchy, who boasts herself infallible, but judgment is threatened against them, ver. 22. *Behold, I will cast her into a bed, and them that commit adultery with her into great tribulation if they do not repent of their deeds.* Which judgment fell upon her in the happy reformation, when so many kingdoms and countries deserted the pope. And likewise in the song of the risen witnesses, chap. xv. 4. *Who shall not fear thee, O Lord, and glorify thy name? for thou only art holy, for all nations shall come and worship before thee.* For thy judgments are made manifest. And this is the former part of the execution of the sentence against the *little horn* or *great whore*. But the execution goes on in the seven vials.

— *And they shall take away his kingdom to consume and destroy it unto the end.* That is, by that time all the vials be poured out upon the two-horned beast, the *little horn* with eyes, or the false prophet, his dominion shall be quite destroyed and consumed, which is the second part of the doom of the *little horn*, with which the vision of that

that Divine Heroes on the white horse with a sword coming out of his mouth doth happen according to time. Which sword out of his mouth answers to the fiery stream out of the mouth of the ancient of days, and both to that of St. Paul, 2 Thess. ii. where he says, *that the Lord shall consume the man of Sin, by the spirit of his mouth, and destroy him with the brightness of his coming*, as I have noted above. Now as the little horn is doomed to destruction (from whence the man of Sin is called the *son of perdition*, 2 Thess. ii.) by this Divine Consistory, which is one part of their act in this session; so that ample and everlasting kingdom that succeeds the destruction of the little horn, is adjudged to the true Apostolick, Catholick Church, of whom Christ alone is head. Which is the other part of the act of this session, and which alone is taken notice of, Revel. xx. 4. the other part having been taken notice of, ch. xvii. and xviii.

Ver. 27. *And the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven shall be given to the people of the Saints of the most high.* This is that other part of the sentence pronounced by that divine Sanhedrim or great council in the behalf of the true Church that had been afflicted and oppressed so long under the tyranny of the little horn. The true Church then consisting of Jew and Gentile will overspread all. This is to be accomplished under the second and third thunders. And I think no body can doubt but that the people of the Saints of the Most High are the truly Catholick and Apostolick Church, if he consider the description of the new Jerusalem in the Revelations. And the Most High is Christ, who there is termed King of kings, and Lord of lords, and the Messias will be acknowledged in those days to be such both by Jew and Gentile. This answers to that of Revel. xx. 4. *And I saw thrones and they sat upon them, and judgment was given unto them*, and the result was, *They that had not worshipped the beast, neither his image, &c. they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years*, acknowledging him the only universal head of the Church. This will be the truly Holy Catholick Church of Christ, as they are here called the *people of the Saints of the Most High*. *Whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom*, not to end upon earth till the last thunder or conflagration, according to the tenour of the Revelations. *And all dominions shall serve and obey him*; or as St. John saith, *the Kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ*. Revel. xi. 15. For all nations and kingdoms shall willingly submit themselves to, and enjoy themselves in this mightily extended and overspreading kingdom of the Son of Man, which the ancient of Days had assigned to him. Which well may be called the kingdom of the Son of Man, in counterdistinction to those other four kingdoms that are set up by cruel ravaging Beasts, tearing and trampling all under feet, and forcing men to blind obedience with savage violence, as was usual in the kingdom of antichrist, or little horn with eyes, that would let no body see but himself. Whereas the true Church, or kingdom of the Son of Man (as the four beasts or rather wights in the Revelations) are all full of eyes within and without. And certainly the kingdom of the Son of Man will be a kingdom of unaffected prudence, defecate reason, and holy love. For this is the true man, the rest in us is but common to us with the brutes. And therefore of such shall consist the kingdom of Christ the Son of Man (as he perpetually calls himself) after the abolition of the kingdom of antichrist.

Ver. 28. *Hitherto is the end of the matter.* viz. The matter which the angel communicated to him by way of interpretation of the vision.

— *As for me Daniel, my cogitations much troubled me, and my countenance changed in me.* I was so actuated by a supernatural power that my natural strength could scarce bear it, which was discoverable in my very countenance, grown lean and pale in undergoing this divine or angelical actuation or impression, which was attended with such extraordinary Circumstances. And it was matter of great trouble to me to foresee the profanation of God's laws and worship, and the persecutions and calamities which should come upon his Church and people.

— *But I kept the matter in my heart.* That is, I committed it firmly and carefully to my memory, so that I might be sure to transcribe it right, as being *Ingenus documentum Divinae Providentiae Praescientiaeque*, they are the

words of Grotius; *A wonderful instance of divine providence and prescience to all posterity*; as certainly this vision and interpretation is rightly understood. So that

This chapter contains the vision which the Prophet Daniel had of the four beasts, and the explanation of that vision; which was, that there would be four great Empires; and that in the time of the fourth the kingdom of God should be established upon the earth.

This admirable Prophecy, which we cannot sufficiently admire shews very clearly the four Empires that were to be established one after another.

1st, The Babylonians.

2dly, The Medes and Persians.

3dly, The Grecians. And

4thly, The Romans.

The Holy Spirit declares particularly, that in the time of the fourth empire, the Son of Man, to wit, our Lord Jesus Christ, should establish his kingdom, and that it would be a spiritual, heavenly, and everlasting kingdom. All these things have happened as they were foretold. We see the kingdom of God established by the Messiah, and if any part of the Prophecy be not yet fulfilled, we ought to believe it will, as well as the rest.

The use that ought to be made of this Chapter is, to convince us that there is a God, who perfectly knows what shall happen; that he governs all events; that the revolutions in the world are brought about by his pleasure; that the Holy Scripture is of divine Inspiration, and that our religion is true; but we ought chiefly to gather from hence that Jesus is the Messiah who was promised; that his kingdom shall last for ever; and that the Saints shall reign with him from age to age; that therefore we ought to submit to him, as to our king, and serve him faithfully, that we may partake of his Glory in his kingdom.

To what has been said it wont be improper to add the following observations. And 1st,

Of the vision of the four beasts.

It has been remarked before in the Notes on this Book of Daniel, "that all his prophecies relate to each other, as if they were several parts of one general prophecy, given at several times." So that I may say that the former prophecy of the four kingdoms or empires is repeated here in the next vision of the four beasts, with several new additions; such as are the two wings of the lion, the three ribs in the mouth of the bear; the four wings and the four heads of the leopard; the eleven horns of the fourth beast; and the Son of Man coming in the clouds of heaven, to the ancient of days sitting in judgment.

The first beast was like a lion, and had eagles wings, to denote the kingdoms of Babylon and Media, which overthrew the Assyrian Empire, and divided it between them, and thereby became considerable, and grew into great empires. In the former prophecy, the empire of Babylon was represented by the *head of gold*; in this both empires are represented together by the two wings of the lion, ch. vii. 4. *And I beheld*, saith Daniel, *till the wings thereof were plucked, and it was lifted up from the earth, and made to stand upon the feet as a man, and a man's heart was given to it*. i. e. till it was humbled and subdued, and made to know its human state.

The second beast was like the bear, and represents the empire which reigned next after the Babylonians, that is, the empire of the Persians. *Thy kingdom is divided*, or broken, saith Daniel to the last king of Babylon, *and given to the Medes and Persians*, Dan. v. 28. This Beast raised it self up on one side; the Persians being under the Medes at the fall of Babylon, but presently rising up above them. *And it had three ribs in the mouth of it*, between the teeth of it, chap. vii. 5. to signify the kingdoms of Sardes, Babylon, and Egypt, which were conquered by it, but did not belong to its proper body. And it devoured much flesh, the riches of those three kingdoms.

The third beast was the kingdom which succeeded the Persian; and this was the empire of the Greeks, Dan. viii. 6, 7, 20, 21. It was like a Leopard, to signify its fierceness; and had four heads and four wings, to signify that it should become divided into four kingdoms, Dan. viii. 22.

for it continued in a monarchical form during the reign of Alexander the great, and his brother Aridæus, and young sons Alexander and Hercules; and then brake into four kingdoms, by the governors of provinces putting crowns on their own heads, and by mutual consent reigning over their own provinces. Cassander reigned over Macedon, Greece, and Epirus; Lyfimachus over Thrace and Bithynia; Ptolemy over Egypt, Lybia, Arabia, Cœlosyria, and Palestine; and Seleucus over Syria.

The fourth beast was the empire which succeeded that of the Greeks, and this was the Roman. This beast was exceeding dreadful and terrible, and had great iron teeth, and devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with its feet; and such was the Roman empire. It was larger, stronger, and more formidable and lasting than any of the former. It conquered the kingdom of Macedon, with Illyricum and Epirus, in the eighth year of Antiochus Epiphanes, Anno Nabonass. 580; and inherited that of Pergamus, Anno Nabonass. 615; and conquered that of Syria, Anno Nabonass. 679; and that of Egypt, Anno Nabonass. 718. And by these and other Conquests it became greater and more terrible than any of the three former beasts. This empire continued in its greatness till the reign of Theodosius the great; and then break into ten kingdoms, represented by the ten horns of this Beast; and continued in a broken form, till the ancient of days sat in a throne like fiery flame, and *the judgment was set, and the books were opened, and the beast was slain and his body destroyed, and given to the burning flames; and one like the son of man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the antient of days*, chap. vii. 13. and received dominion over all nations, and judgment was given to the Saints of the most high, and the time came that they possessed the kingdom.

I beheld, saith Daniel, till the Beast was slain, and his body destroyed, and given to the burning flames. As concerning the rest of the beasts, they had their dominion taken away: yet their lives were prolonged for a season and a time. chap. vii. 12, 13. And therefore all the four beasts are still alive, though the dominion of the three first be taken away. The nations of Chaldea and Assyria are still the first beast. Those of Media and Persia are still the second beast. Those of Macedon, Greece, and Thrace, Asia minor, Syria and Egypt, are still the third. And those of Europe on this side Greece are still the fourth. Seeing therefore the body of the third beast is confined to the nations on this side the Euphrates, and the body of the fourth beast is confined to the nations on this side Greece; we are to look for all the four heads of the third beast, among the nations on this side of the river Euphrates; and for all the eleven horns of the fourth beast, among the nations on this side of Greece. And therefore, at the breaking of the Greek empire into four kingdoms of the Greeks, we include no part of the Chaldeans, Medes, and Persians, into those kingdoms, because they belonged to the bodies of the two first beasts. Nor do we reckon the Greek empire seated at Constantinople, among the horns of the fourth beast, because it belonged to the body of the third. Therefore,

Of the kingdoms represented by the feet of the image composed of iron and clay.

Dacia was a large country bounded on the south by the Danube, on the east of the Euxine sea, on the north by the river Neister and the mountain Crapac, and on the west by the river Tibesis, or Teys, which runs southward into the Danube, a little above Belgrade. It comprehended the countries now called Transylvania, Moldavia, and Wallachia, and the eastern part of the upper Hungary. Its antient inhabitants were called Getæ by the Greeks, Daci by the Latins, and Goths by themselves. Alexander the great attacked them, and Trajan conquered them, and reduced their country into a province of the Roman empire: and thereby the propagation of the gospel among them was afterwards much promoted. They were composed of several Gothic nations, called Ostrogoths, Visigoths, Vandals, Gepides, Lombards, Burgundians, Alans, &c. who all agreed in their manners, and spake the same language, as Procopius represents. While they lived under the Romans, the Goths or Ostrogoths were

seated in the eastern parts of Dacia, the Vandals in the western part upon the river Teys, where the rivers Mareth and Kereh run into it. The Visigoths were between them. The Gepides, according to Jornandes, were upon the Vistula. The Burgundians, a Vandalic nation, were between the Vistula and the southern fountain of the Boristhenes, at some distance from the mountain Crapac northwards, where Ptolemy places them, by the names of Phrugundiones and Burgiones. The Alons, another Gothic nation, were between the northern fountain of the Boristhenes, and the mouth of the river Tanais, where Ptolemy placeth the mountain Alanus, and the western side of the Palus Mæotis.

These nations continued under the dominion of the Romans till the second year of the emperor Philip, and then for want of their military pay began to revolt; the Ostrogoths setting up a kingdom, which, under their kings Ostrogotha, Cniva, Araric, Geperic, and Hermanaric, increased till the year of Christ 376; and then by an incursion of the Huns from beyond the Tanais, and the death of Hermanaric, break into several smaller kingdoms. Hunnimund, the son of Hermanaric, became king over the Ostrogoths; Fridigern over the Visigoths; Winithar, or Vinithar, over a part of the Goths called Gruthungi by Ammian, Gothunni by Claudian, and Sarmatæ and Scythians by others: Athanaric reigned over another part of the Goths in Dacia, called Thervingi; Box over the Antes in Sarmatia; and the Gepides had also their king. The Vandals fled over the Danube from Geberic in the latter end of the reign of Constantine the great, and had seats granted them in Pannonia by that emperor, where they lived quietly forty years, viz. till the year 377, when several Gothic nations flying from the Huns came over the Danube, and had seats granted them in Mæsia and Thrace by the Greek emperor Valens. But the next year they revolted, called in some Goths, Alans, and Huns, from beyond the Danube, and routed the Roman army, slew the emperor Valens, and spread themselves into Greece and Pannonia as far as the Alps. In the years 379 and 380 they were check'd by the arms of the emperor Gratian and Theodosius, and made a submissive peace; the Visigoths and Thervingi returned to their seats in Mæsia and Thrace, the Huns retired over the Danube, and the Alans and Gruthungi obtained seats in Pannonia.

About the year 373; or 374 the Burgundians rose from their seats upon the Vistula, with an army of eighty thousand men to invade Gallia; and being opposed, seated themselves upon the northern side of the Rhine over against Mentz. In the year 358, a body of the Salian Franks, with their king, coming from the river Sala, were received into the empire by the emperor Julian, and seated in Gallia between Brabant and the Rhine: and their king Mellobaudes was made *Comes domesticorum*, by the emperor Gratian. Richomer, another noble Salian Frank, was made *Comes domesticorum*, and *Magister utriusque Militiæ*, by Theodosius; and A. C. 384, was consul with Clearchus. He was a great favourite of Theodosius, and accompanied him in his wars against Eugenius, but died in the expedition, and left a son called Theodimir, who afterwards became king of the Salian Franks in Brabant. In the time of this war some Franks from beyond the Rhine invaded Gallia, under the conduct of Genobald, Marcomir and Suno, but were repulsed by Stilico; and Marcomir being slain, was succeeded in Germany by his son Pharamond.

While these nations remained quiet within the empire, subject to the Romans, many others continued so beyond the Danube till the death of the emperor Theodosius, and then rose up in arms. For Paulus Diaconus in his *Historia Miscell.* lib. xiv. speaking of the times next after the death of this emperor, tells us: *Eodem tempore erant Gothi & aliæ gentes maxime trans Danubium habitantes: ex quibus rationabiliores quatuor sunt, Gothi scilicet, Huisogothi, Gepides & Vandali; & nomen tantum & nihil aliud mutantes. Isti sub Arcadio & Honorio Danubium transeuntes, locati sunt in terra Romanorum: & Gepides quidem, ex quibus postea divisi sunt Longobardi & Avars, villas, quæ sunt circa Singidonum & Sirmium, habitavere: i. e.* That about the same time the Goths and other very powerful people inhabited beyond the Danube: four of the most

most rational of which were the Goths, Visigoths, Gepides, and Vandals, which differed in nothing more than their names. These passing over the Danube in the reigns of Arcadius and Honorius, fixed their seats in the Roman territories: and especially the Gepides, from whom sprung the Longobards and Avars, inhabited the villages about Singidonium and Sirmium: and Procopius in the beginning of his *Historia Vandalica* writes to the same purpose. Hitherto the western empire continued entire, but now brake into many kingdoms.

Theodosius died A. C. 395; and then the Visigoths, under the conduct of Alaric the successor of Frigidern, rose from their seats in Thrace, and wasted Macedon, Thessaly, Achaia, Peloponnesus, and Epirus, with fire and sword for five years together; when turning westward, they invaded Dalmatia, Illyricum and Pannonia; and from thence went into Italy A. C. 402; and the next year were so beaten at Pollentia and Verona, by Stilico the commander of the forces of the western empire, that Claudian calls the remainder of the forces of Alaric, *tanta ex gente reliquias breves*, i. e. *the small remains of so great a people*. And Prudentius, *gentem deletam*. Thereupon Alaric made peace with the emperor, being so far humbled, that Orosius, saith he, did *pro pace optima & quibus-
cunque sedibus suppliciter & simpliciter orare*. This peace was ratified by mutual hostages; Aetius was sent hostage to Alaric; and Alaric continued a free prince in the seats now granted to him.

When Alaric took up arms, the nations beyond the Danube began to be in motion; and the next winter, between A. C. 395 and 396, a great body of Hunns, Alans, Ostrogoths, Gepides, and other northern nations, came over the frozen Danube, being invited by Rufinus: when their brethren, who had obtained seats within the empire, took up arms also. Jerome calls this great multitude, Hunns, Alans, Vandals, Goths, Sarmatians, Quades, and Marcomans; and saith, that they invaded all places between Constantinople and the Julian Alps, wasting Scythia, Thrace, Macedon, Dardania, Dacia, Thessaly, Achaia, Epirus, Dalmatia, and all Pannonia. The Suevians also invaded Rhætia: for when Alaric ravaged Pannonia, the Romans were defending Rhætia; which gave Alaric an opportunity of invading Italy, as Claudian mentions.

And when Alaric went from those parts into Italy, some other barbarous nations invaded Noricum and Vindelicia, as the same poet Claudian writes:

— Jam fœdera gentes
Exuerant, Latique audita clade feroces
Vindelicos saltus & Norica rura tenebant.

This was in the years 402 and 403. And among these nations I reckon the Suevians, Quades, and Marcomans; for they were all in arms at this time. The Quades and Marcomans were Suevian nations; and they and the Suevians came originally from Bohemia, and the river Suevus or Sprake in Lusatia; and were now united under one common king called Emeric, who soon after led them into Gallia. The Vandals and Alans might also about this time extend themselves into Noricum. Uldin also with a great body of Hunns passed the Danube about the time of Chrysostom's banishment, that is, A. C. 404, and wasted Thrace and Mæsia. Radagaisus, king of the Gruthunni and successor of Winithar, inviting over more barbarians from beyond the Danube, invaded Italy with an army of above two hundred thousand Goths; and within a year or two, A. C. 405 or 406, was overcome by Stilico, and perished with his army. In this war Stilico was assisted with a great body of Hunns and Ostrogoths, under the conduct of Uldin and Sarus, who were hired by the emperor Honorius. In all this confusion it was necessary for the Lombards in Pannonia to arm themselves in their own defence, and assert their liberty, the Romans being no longer able to protect them.

And now Stilico purposing to make himself emperor, procured a military prefecture to Alaric, and sent him into the east in the service of Honorius the western emperor, committing some Roman troops to his conduct to strengthen his army of Goths, and promising to follow soon after with his own army. His pretence was to recover some regions of Illyricum, which the eastern emperor was ac-

cused to detain injuriously from the western; but his secret design was to make himself emperor, by the assistance of the Vandals and their allies: for he himself was a Vandal. For facilitating this design, he invited a great body of the barbarous nations to invade the western empire, while he and Alaric invaded the eastern. And these nations under their several kings, the Vandals under Godegesilus, the Alans in two bodies, the one under Goar, the other under Resplendial, and the Suevians, Quades, and Marcomans, under Emeric, marched through Rhætia to the side of the Rhine, leaving their seats in Pannonia to the Hunns and Ostrogoths, and joined the Burgundians under Gundicar, and ruffled the Franks in their further march. On the last of December A. C. 406, they passed the Rhine at Mentz, and spread themselves into Germania prima and the adjacent regions; and amongst other actions the Vandals took Triers. Then they advanced into Belgium, and began to waste that country. Whereupon the Salian Franks in Brabant took up arms, and under the conduct of Theudomir, the son of Ricimer, or Richomer, abovementioned, made so stout a resistance, that they slew almost twenty thousand of the Vandals, with their king Godegesilus, in battle; the rest escaping only by a party of Resplendial's Alans which came timely to their assistance.

Then the British soldiers, alarm'd by the rumour of these things, revolted, and set up tyrants there; first Marcus, whom they slew presently; then Gratian, whom they slew in four months; and lastly Constantine, under whom they invaded Gallia A. C. 408, being favoured by Goar and Gundicar. And Constantine having possessed a good part of Gallia, created his son Constans Cæsar, and sent him into Spain to order his affairs there, A. C. 409.

In the mean time Resplendial, seeing the afore said disaster of the Vandals, and that Goar was gone over to the Romans, led his army from the Rhine; and, together with the Suevians and residue of the Vandals, went towards Spain; the Franks in the mean time prosecuting their victory so far as to retake Triers, which after they had plundered they left to the Romans. The Barbarians were at first stoppt by the Pyrenean mountains, which made them spread themselves into Aquitain: but the next year they had the passage betrayed by some soldiers of Constans; and entering Spain 4 Kal. Octob. A. C. 409, they conquered every one what he could; and at length, A. C. 411, divided their conquests by lot; the Vandals obtained Bœtica, and part of Gallæcia; the Suevians the rest of Gallæcia; and the Alans Lusitania and the Carthaginian province: the emperor for the sake of peace confirming them in those seats by grant, A. C. 413.

The Roman Franks abovementioned, having made Theudomir their king, began straight after their conquest of the Vandals to invade their neighbours also. The first they set upon were the Gauls of Brabant: but meeting with notable resistance, they desired their alliance: and so those Gauls fell off from the Romans, and made an intimate league with the Franks to be as one people, marrying with one another, and conforming to one another's manners, till they became one without distinction. Thus by the access of these Gauls, and of the foreign Franks also, who afterwards came over the Rhine, the Salian kingdom soon grew very great and powerful.

Stilico's expedition against the Greek emperor was stoppt by the order of Honorius; and then Alaric came out of Epirus into Noricum, and requested a sum of money for his service. The senate were inclined to deny him, but by Stilico's mediation granted it. But after some time Stilico being accused of a traiterous conspiracy with Alaric, and slain 10 Kal. A. C. 408; Alaric was thereby disappointed of his money, and reputed an enemy to the empire; he then broke straight into Italy with the army he brought out of Epirus, and sent to his brother Adolphus to follow him with what forces he had in Pannonia, which were not great, but yet not to be despised. Thereupon Honorius fearing to be shut up in Rome, retired to Ravenna in October A. C. 408. And from that time Ravenna continued to be the seat of the western emperors. In those days the Hunns also invaded Pannonia; and seizing the deserted seats of the Vandals, Alans, and Goths, founded a new kingdom there. Alaric advancing to Rome besieged it, and 9 Kal. Sept. A. C. 410 took it: and afterwards

wards attempting to pass into Africa, was shipwrecked. After which Honorius made peace with him, and got up an army to send against the tyrant Constantine.

At the same time Gerontius, one of Constantine's captains, revolted from him, and set up Maximus emperor in Spain. Whereupon Constantine sent Edobec, another of his captains, to draw to his assistance the Barbarians under Goar and Gundicar in Gallia, and supplies of Franks and Alemans from beyond the Rhine; and committed the custody of Vienne in Gallia Narbonensi to his son Constantius. Gerontius advancing, first slew Constantius at Vienne, and then began to besiege Constantine at Arles. But Honorius at the same time sending Constantius with an army on the same errand, Gerontius fled, and Constantius continued the siege, strengthened by the access of the greatest part of the soldiers of Gerontius. After four months siege, Edobec having procured succours, the barbarian kings at Mentz, Goar and Gundicar, constitute Jovinus emperor, and together with him set forward to relieve Arles. At their approach Constantius retired. They pursued, and he beat them by surprize; but not prosecuting his victory, the barbarians soon recovered themselves; yet not so as to hinder the fall of the tyrants Constantine, Jovinus and Maximus. Britain could not be recovered to the empire, but remained ever after a distinct kingdom.

The next year, A. C. 412, the Visigoths being beaten in Italy, had Aquitain granted them to retire into: and they invaded it with much violence, causing the Alans and Burgundians to retreat, who were then depopulating of it. At the same time the Burgundians were brought to peace; and the emperor granted them for inheritance a region upon the Rhine which they had invaded: and the same, I presume, he did with the Alans. But the Franks not long after retaking and burning Triers, Castinus, A. C. 415, was sent against them with an army, who routed them and slew Theudomir their king. This was the second taking of Triers by the Franks. It was therefore taken four times, once by the Vandals and thrice by the Franks. Theudomir was succeeded by Pharamond, the prince or king of the Salian Franks in Germany. From thence he brought new forces, reigned over the whole, and had seats granted to his people within the empire near the Rhine.

And now the barbarians were all quieted, and settled in several kingdoms within the empire, not only by conquest, but also by the grants of the emperor Honorius. For Rutilius in his itinerary, written in Autumn, Anno Urbis 1169, that is, according to Varro's computation then in use, A. C. 416, thus laments the wasted fields:

Illa quidem longis nimium deformia bellis;

And then adds,

*Fam tempus laceris post longa incendia fundis
Vel pastorales ædificare casas.*

And a little after,

Æternum tibi Rheas aret.

And Orosius in the end of his history, which was finished A. C. 417, represents now a general pacification of the barbarous nations by the words *comprimere, coangustare, addicere gentes immanissimas*; terming them *imperio addictas*, because they had obtained seats in the empire by league and compact; and *coangustatas*, because they did no longer invade all regions at pleasure, but by the same compact remained quiet in the seats then granted them. And these are the kingdoms, of which the feet of the image were henceforward composed, and which are represented by iron and clay intermixed, which do not stick one to another, and were of different strength.

Of the ten kingdoms represented by the ten horns of the fourth beast.

Now by the wars above described the western empire of the Romans, about the time that Rome was besieged and taken by the Goths, became broken into the following ten kingdoms.

1. The kingdom of the Vandals and Alans in Spain and Africa.
2. The kingdom of the Suevians in Spain.
3. The kingdom of the Visigoths.
4. The kingdom of the Alans in Gallia.
5. The kingdom of the Burgundians.
6. The kingdom of the Franks.
7. The kingdom of the Britains.
8. The kingdom of the Hunns.
9. The kingdom of the Lombards.
10. The kingdom of Ravenna.

1. The kings of the Vandals were,		A. C.
Godegesilus,	_____	407
Gunderic,	_____	407
Geiseric,	_____	426
Huneric,	_____	477
Gundemund,	_____	484
Thrasamund,	_____	496
Geiseric,	_____	523
Gelimer,	_____	530

So that,
Godegesilus led them into Gallia. _____ 406
Gunderic into Spain, _____ 409
Geiseric into Africa, _____ 427
And Gelimer was conquered by Belisarius, _____ 533
Their kingdom lasted in Gallia, Spain and Africa together 126 years; and in Africa they were very potent. The Alans had only two kings of their own in Spain, Resplendial, and Ataces, Utacus or Othacar. Under Resplendial they went into France, A. C. 407, and into Spain, A. C. 409. Ataces was slain with almost all his army by Vallia king of the Visigoths, A. C. 419. And then the remainder of these Alans subjected themselves to Gunderic king of the Vandals in Bœtica, and went afterwards with them into Africa, as I learn out of Procopius. Whence the kings of the Vandals stiled themselves kings of the Vandals and Alans; as may be seen in the edict of Huneric recited by Victor in his Vandalic persecution. In conjunction with the Chatti, these Alans gave the name of Cathalaunia, or Carth-Alania, to the province of Spain, which is still so called. These Alans had also Gepides among them; and therefore the Gepides came into Pannonia before the Alans left it. There they became subject to the Hunns till the death of Attila A. C. 454, and at length were conquered by the Ostrogoths.

2. The kings of the Suevians were,		A. C.
Ermeric,	_____	407
Rechila,	_____	438
Rechiarus,	_____	448
Maldra,	_____	458
Frumarius,	_____	460
Regismund,	_____	463
And after some other kings who are unknown, reigned		
Theudomir,	_____	558
Miro,	_____	568
Euboricus,	_____	582
Andeca,	_____	583

This kingdom, after it had been once seated in Spain, remained always in Gallæcia and Lusitania, or Portugal. Emeric after the fall of the Alan kingdom, enlarged it into all Gallæcia, forcing the Vandals to retire into Bœtica and the Carthaginian province. This kingdom lasted 177 years according to Isidorus, and then was subdued by Leovigildus king of the Visigoths, and made a province of his kingdom, A. C. 585.

3. The kings of the Visigoths were,		A. C.
Alaric,	_____	400
Athaulphus,	_____	410
Sergeric and Vallia,	_____	415
Theoderic,	_____	419
Therismund,	_____	451
Theoderic,	_____	452
Euric,	_____	465
Alaric,	_____	482
Gensalaric,	_____	505
Amalaric,	_____	526
Theudius,	_____	531
Theudiculus, &c.	_____	548

I dare

I date this kingdom from the time that Alaric left Thrace and Greece to invade the western empire. In the end of the reign of Athaulphus, the Goths were humbled by the Romans, and attempted to pass out of France into Spain. Sergeric reigned but a few days. In the beginning of Vallia's reign they assailed the Romans afresh, but were again repulsed, and then made peace on this condition, that they should on the behalf of the empire invade the barbarian kingdoms in Spain: and this they did, together with the Romans, in the years 417 and 418, overthrowing the Alans and part of the Vandals. Then they received Aquitain of the emperor by a full donation, leaving their conquests in Spain to the emperor: and thereby the seats of the conquered Alans came into the hands of the Romans. In the year 455, Theoderic, assisted by the Burgundians, invaded Spain, which was then almost all subject to the Suevians, and took a part of it from them. A. C. 506, the Goths were driven out of Gallia by the Franks. A. C. 585, they conquered the Suevian kingdom, and became lords of all Spain. A. C. 713, the Saracens invaded them, but in time they recovered their dominions, and have reigned in Spain ever since.

4. The kings of the Alans in Gallia were, Goar, Sambida, Eocharic, Sangibanus, Beurgus, &c. Under Goar they invaded Gallia, A. C. 407, and had seats given them near the Rhine, A. C. 412. Under Sambida, whom Bucher makes the successor, if not the son of Goar, they had the territories of Valence given them by Ætius the emperor's general, A. C. 440. Under Eocharic they conquered a region of the rebelling Gallia Arborici, given them also by Ætius. This region was from them named *Alenconium, quasi alannorum conventus*. Under Sangibanus they were invaded, and their regal city Orleans was besieged by Attila king of the Huns, with a vast army of 500000 men. Ætius and the barbarian kings of Gallia came to raise the siege, and beat the Huns in a very memorable battle, A. C. 451, *in campis Catalaunicis*, i. e. *in the plains of Catalaunia*, so called from these Alans mixt with the Chatti. The region is now called Campania or Champagne. In that battle were slain on both sides 162000 men. A year or two after, Attila returned with an immense army to conquer this kingdom, but was again beaten by them and the Visigoths together in a battle of three days continuance, with a slaughter almost as great as the former. Under Beurgus, or Biorgor, they infested Gallia round about, till the reign of Maximus the emperor; and then they passed the Alps in winter, and came into Liguria, but were there beaten, and Beurgus slain, by Ricimer commander of the emperor's forces, A. C. 464. Afterwards they were again beaten, by the joint force of Odoacer king of Italy and Childeric king of the Franks, about the year 480, and again by Theudobert king of the Austrian Franks about the year 511.

5. The kings of the Burgundians were,	A. C.
Gundicar, — — — — —	407
Gundioc, — — — — —	436
Bilimer, — — — — —	467
Gundobaldus with his brothers, — — — — —	473
Sigismund, — — — — —	510
Godomarus, — — — — —	517

Under Gundicar they invaded Gallia, A. C. 407, and had seats given them by the emperor near the Rhine in Gallia Belgica, A. C. 412. They had Saxons among them, and were now so potent, that Orosius A. C. 417, wrote of them: *Burgundionum esse prævalidam manum, Gallie hodieque testes sunt, in quibus præsumpta possessione consistunt*. About the year 435, they received great overthrows by Ætius, and soon after by the Huns; but five years after had Savoy granted them to be shared with the inhabitants; and from that time became again a potent kingdom, being bounded by the river Rhodanus, but afterwards extending much further into the heart of Gallia. Gundobald conquered the regions about the rivers Araris and Rhodanus, with the territories of Marseilles; and invading Italy in the time of the emperor Glycerius, conquered all his brethren. Godomarus made Orleans his royal seat: whence the kingdom was called *regnum aurelianorum*. He was conquered by Clotharius and Childebert, kings of the Franks, A. C. 526. From thenceforward this kingdom was some-

times united to the kingdom of the Franks, and sometimes divided from it, till the reign of Charles the Great, who made his son Carolottus king of Burgundy. From that time, for about 300 years together, it enjoyed its proper kings; and was then broken into the dukedom of Burgundy, county of Burgundy, and county of Savoy; and afterwards those were broken into other lesser countries.

6. The kings of the Franks were,	A. C.
Theudomir, — — — — —	407
Rhaïmond, — — — — —	417
Clodio, — — — — —	428
Merovæus, — — — — —	448
Childeric, — — — — —	456
Clodovæus, &c. — — — — —	482

Windeline and Butcher, two of the most diligent searchers into the originals of this kingdom, make it begin the same year with the barbarian invasions of Gallia, that is, A. C. 407.

Now for Genobaldus, Marcomer and Suno, they were captains of the Transrhene Franks in the reign of Theodosius, and concern us not. We are to begin with Theudomir the first king of the rebelling Salii, called Didio by Ivo Carnotensis, and Thiedo and Theudemerus by Rhennannus. His face is extant in a coin of gold found with this inscription, *THEUDEMIR REX*, published by Petavius, and still or lately extant, as Windeline testifies: which shews that he was a king, and that in Gallia; seeing that rude Germany understood not then the coining of money, nor used either Latin words or letters. He was the son of Ricimer, or Richomer, the favourite of the emperor Theodosius; and so being a Roman Frank, and of the Salian royal blood, they, therefore, upon the rebellion made him king. The whole time of his reign you have stated in *Excerptis Gregorii Turoensis e Fredigario, cap. 5, 6, 7, 8*: where the making him king, the tyranny of Jovinus, the slaughter of the associates of Jovinus, the second taking of Trier by the Franks, and their war with Casticus, in which this king was slain, are as a series of successive things set down in order.

Upon this victory of the Romans, the Franks and rebelling Gauls, who in the time of Theudomir were at war with one another, united to strengthen themselves, as Orosius Vitalis mentions, *Apud Eucherum, l. 14. c. 9. n. 8*. Prosper sets down the time; Anno 25 Honorii, Pharamundus regnat in Francia, i. e. *Pharamond reigned in France in the twenty-fifth year of Honorius*. This, Bucher well observes, refers to the end of the year 416, or the beginning of the next year, dating the years of Honorius from the death of Valentinian; and argues well, that at this time Pharamond was not only king by the constitution of the Franks, but crowned also by the consent of Honorius, and had a part of Gallia assigned him by covenant. And this might be the cause that Roman writers reckoned him the first king: which some not understanding, have reputed him the founder of this kingdom by an army of the Transrhene Franks. He might come with such an army, but he succeeded Theudomir by right of blood and consent of the people. For the above-cited passage of Fredigarius, *extinctis ducibus, in Francis denno reges creantur ex eadem stirpe qua prius fuerant*, implies that the kingdom continued to this new elected family, during the reign of more kings than one. If you date the years of Honorius from the death of his father, the reign of Pharamond might begin two years later than is assigned by Bucher. The Salique laws made in his reign, which are yet extant, shew by their name that it was the kingdom of the Salii over which he reigned; and, by the pecuniary mulcts in them, that the place where he reigned abounded much with money, and consequently was within the empire; rude Germany knowing not the use of money, till they mixed with the Romans. In the preface also to the Salique laws, written and prefixed to them soon after the conversion of the Franks to the Christian religion, that is, in the end of the reign of Merovæus, or soon after, the original of this kingdom is thus described: *Hac enim gens, quæ fortis dum esset & robore valida, Romanorum jugum durissimum de suis cervicibus excussit pugnando, &c. i. e. For this nation being stout and powerful shook off the tyrannical yoke of the Romans by force of arms, &c.* This kingdom therefore was erected, not by invasion but by rebellion, as was described above. Prosper in registering

their kings in order, tells us: *Pharamundus regnat in Francia; Clodio regnat in Francia; Meroveus regnat in Francia*: and who can imagine but that in all these places he meant one and the same Francia? And yet 'tis certain, that the Francia of Meroveus was in Gallia.

Yet the father of Pharamond, being king of a body of Franks in Germany in the reign of the emperor Theodosius as above, Pharamond might reign over the same Franks in Germany before he succeeded Theudomir in the kingdom of the Salians within the empire, and even before Theudomir began his reign; suppose in the first year of Honorius, or when those Franks being repulsed by Stilico, left their kings Marcomir and Suno, one of which was the father of Pharamond: and the Roman Franks, after the death of Theudomir, might invite Pharamond with his people from beyond the Rhine. But we are not to regard the reign of Pharamond in Germany: we are to date this kingdom from its rise within the empire, and to look upon it as strengthened by the access of other Franks coming from beyond the Rhine, whether in the reign of this king or in that of his successor Clodio. For in the last year of Pharamond's reign, Ætius took from him a part of his possession in Gallia: but his successor Clodio, whom Fredigarius represents as the son of Theudomir, and some call Clogio, Cloio, and Claudius, inviting from beyond the Rhine a great body of Franks, recovered all, and carried on their conquests as far as the river Soame. Then those Franks dividing conquests with him, erected certain new kingdoms at Cologne and Cambray, and some other cities: all which were afterwards conquered by Clodoveus, who also drove the Goths out of Gallia, and fix'd his seat at Paris, where it has continued ever since. And this was the original of the present kingdom of France.

7. The kings of Britain were,				A. C.
Marcus,	—	—	—	407
Gratian, and Constantine successively	—	—	—	408
Vortigern,	—	—	—	425
Aurelius Ambrosius,	—	—	—	466
Uther Pendraco,	—	—	—	498
Arthur,	—	—	—	508
Constantinus,	—	—	—	542
Aurelius Cunanus,	—	—	—	545
Vortiporeus,	—	—	—	578
Malgo,	—	—	—	581
Careticus,	—	—	—	586
Cadwan,	—	—	—	613
Cadwalin,	—	—	—	635
Cadwallader.	—	—	—	676

The three first were Roman tyrants, who revolted from the empire. Orosius, Prosper and Zosimus connect their revolt with the irruptions of the barbarians into Gallia, as consequent thereunto. Prosper, with whom Zosimus agrees, puts it in the year which began the day after that irruption. The just time I thus collect: Marcus reigned not many days, Gratian four months, and Constantine three years. He was slain the year after the taking of Rome, *i. e.* A. C. 411, 14 Kal. Octob. Whence the revolt was in spring, A. C. 408. Sozomen joins Constantine's expedition into Gallia with Arcadius's death, or the times a little after; and Arcadius died A. C. 408 May 11. Now, tho' the reign of these tyrants was but short, yet they gave a beginning to the kingdom of Britain, and to may be reckoned the three first kings, especially since the posterity of Constantine, *viz.* his sons Aurelius Ambrosius, and Uther Pendraco, and his grandson Arthur, reigned afterwards. For from the time of the revolt of these tyrants, Britain continued a distinct kingdom absolved from subjection to the empire, the emperor not being able to spare soldiers to be sent thither to receive and keep the island, and therefore neglecting it; as we learn by unquestionable records of Prosper. Sigebert, and especially Zosimus, lib. 6. *The Transjordanian Barbarians invading all places, reduced the inhabitants of the island of Britain, and also certain Celtic nations to that pass, that they fell off from the Roman empire; and being no longer obedient to the Roman laws, κατ' ἐξουσίαν βίβαντες, they lived in separate bodies after their own pleasure. The Britons therefore taking up arms, and bazzarding themselves for their own safety, freed their cities from the imminent Barbarians. In like manner all Brabant and some other provinces of the Gauls imitating the Britons, freed themselves also, ejecting*

the Roman presidents, and forming themselves into a sort of commonwealth according to their own pleasure. This rebellion of Britain and the Celtic nations happened when Constantine usurped the kingdom. So also Procopius, lib. 1. Vandal. speaking of the same Constantine, saith: *Constantine being overcome in battle, was slain with his children: Βρετανίαν μὲν τοι Ρωμαῖοι ἀνασώσασθαι οὐκέτι ἔχον, ἀλλ' οὐδ' οὐδ' ὑποτάσσας ἀπ' αὐτῶ ἐμνε. Yet the Romans could not recover Britain any more, but from that time it remained under tyrants.* To these we may add, Beda, l. 1. c. 11. Ethelwaldus: And Theodoret, who in his *Serm. 9. de curand Græc. affect.* about the year 424, reckons the Britons among the nations which were not then in subjection to the Roman empire. Thus Sigonius: *ad annum, 411, Imperium Romanorum post excessum Constantini in Britannia nullum fuit, i. e. The Romans after the death of Constantine, had no sovereignty over the Britains in the year 411.*

Between the death of Constantine and the reign of Vortigern was an interregnum of about fourteen years, in which the Britons had wars with the Picts and Scots, and twice obtained the assistance of a Roman legion, who drove out the enemy, but told them positively at their departure that they would come no more. Of Vortigern's beginning to reign there is this record in an old Chronicle in Nennius, quoted by Camden and others: *Guortigernus tenuit imperium in Britannia, Theodosio & Valentiano Coss. Guortigern ruled in Britain, when Theodosius and Valentinian were consuls, [viz. A. C. 425.] & in quarto anno regni sui Saxones ad Britanniam venerunt, Felice & Tauri Coss. and in the fourth year of his reign the Saxons invaded Britain, when Felix and Taurus were consuls, [viz. A. C. 428.]* This coming of the Saxons, Sigebert refers to the fourth year of Valentinian, which falls in with the year 428 assigned by this Chronicle: and two years after, the Saxons, together with the Picts, were beaten by the Britons. Afterwards in the reign of Martian the emperor, that is, between the years 450 and 456, the Saxons under Hengist were called in by the Britons, but six years after revolted from them, made war upon them with various success, and by degrees succeeded them. Yet the Britons continued a flourishing kingdom till the reign of Careticus; and the war between the two nations continued till the pontificate of Sergius, A. C. 688. Rolevins's *Antiqua Saxon.* l. 1. c. 6.

8. The kings of the Hunns were,				A. C.
Oëtar and Rugila,	—	—	—	406
Bleda and Attila,	—	—	—	433

Oëtar and Rugila were the brothers of Munzuc king of the Hunns in Gothia beyond the Danube; and Bleda and Attila were his sons, and Munzuc was the son of Balimir. The two first, as Jornandes tells us, were kings of the Hunns, but not of them all; and had he two last for their successors. I date the reign of the Hunns in Pannonia from the time that the Vandals and Alans relinquished Pannonia to them, A. C. 407. Sigonius from the time that the Visigoths relinquished Pannonia, A. C. 408. Oëtar died A. C. 430; for Socrates tells us, that about that time the Burgundians having been newly vexed by the Hunns, upon intelligence of Oëtar's death, seeing them without a leader, set upon them suddenly with so much vigour, that 3000 Burgundians slew 10000 Hunns. Rugila now being king in Pannonia, died A. C. 433, and was succeeded by Bleda, as Prosper and Maximus inform us. This Bleda, with his Brother Attila, were before this time kings of the Hunns beyond the Danube, their father Munzuc's kingdom being divided between them; and now they united the kingdom of Pannonia to their own. Whence Paulus Diaconus saith, they did *regnum intra Pannoniam Daciamque gerere.* In the year 441, they began to invade the empire a fresh, adding to the Pannonian forces new and great armies from Scythia. But this war was presently composed, and then Attila, seeing Bleda inclined to peace, slew him, A. C. 444, inherited his dominions, and invaded the empire again. At length, after various great wars with the Romans, Attila perished, A. C. 454; and his sons quarrelling about his dominions, gave occasion to the Gepides, Ostrogoths and other nations who were their subjects, to rebel and make war upon them. The same year the Ostrogoths had seats granted them in Pannonia by the emperors Marcian and Valentinian; and with the Ro-

Romans ejected the Huns out of Pannonia, soon after the death of Attila, as all historians agree. This ejection was in the reign of Avitus, as is mentioned by the *Caronicum Boiorum*, and in *Sidonius, Carm. 7 in Avitum*, which speaks thus of that emperor.

—*Cujus solum amissas post secula multa
Pannonias revocavit iter, jam credere promptum est
Quid faciet bellis.*

The poet means, that by the coming Avitus the Huns yielded more easily to the Goths. This was written by *Sidonius* in the beginning of the reign of Avitus: and his reign began in the end of the year 455, and lasted not one full year.

This action happened in the end of the year 455, which I take to be the twelfth year of Valamir in Pannonia, and which was almost fifty years after the year 406, in which the Huns succeeded the Vandals and Alans in Pannonia. Upon the ceasing of the line of Hunnimund the son of Hermaneric, the Ostrogoths lived without kings of their own nation about forty years together, being subject to the Huns. And when Alaric began to make war upon the Romans, which was in the year 414, he made Valamir, with his brothers Theodomir and Vidimir the grandsons of Vinethar, captains or kings of these Ostrogoths under him. In the twelfth year of Valamir's reign dated from thence, the Huns were driven out of Pannonia.

Yet the Huns were not ejected, but that they had further contests with the Romans, till the head of Dentix the son of Attila, was carried to Constantinople, A. C. 469, in the consulship of Zeno and Marcian, as *Marcellinus* relates. Nor were they yet totally ejected the empire: for besides their reliques in Pannonia, *Sigonius* tells us, that when the emperors Marcian and Valentinian granted Pannonia to the Goths, which was in the year 454, they granted part of Illyricum to some of the Huns and Sarmatians. And in the year 526, when the Lombards removing into Pannonia, made war there with the Gepides, the Avars, a part of the Huns, who had taken the name of Avars from one of their kings, assisted the Lombards in that war; and the Lombards afterwards, when they went into Italy, left their seats in Pannonia to the Avars in recompense of their friendship. From that time the Huns grew again very powerful; their kings, whom they called Chagan, troubling the empire much in the reigns of the emperors Mauritius, Phocas, and Heraclius: and this is the original of the present kingdom of Hungary; which from these Avars and other Huns mixed together, took the name of Hun-Avaria, and by contraction Hungary.

The Lombards, before they came over the Danube, were commanded by two captains, Ibor and Ayon: after whose death they had kings, Agilmund, Lamisso, Lechu, Hidehoc, Gudehoc, Claffo, Tato, Wacho, Walter, Audoin, Albain, Cleophis, &c. Agilmund was the son of Ayon, who became their king, according to Prosper, in the consulship of Honorius and Theodosius A. C. 389, reigned thirty-three years, according to Paulus *Warnefrides*, and was slain in battle by the Bulgarians. Prosper places his death in the consulship of Marrianus and Asclepiodorus, A. C. 423. Lamisso routed the Bulgarians, and reigned three years, and Lechu almost forty. Gudehoc was contemporary to Odoacer king of the Heruli in Italy, and led his people from Pannonia into Rugia, a country on the north-side of Noricum next beyond the Danube; from whence Odoacer then carried his people into Italy. Tato overthrew the kingdom of the Heruli beyond the Danube. Wacho conquered the Suevians, a kingdom then bounded on the east by Bavaria, on the west by France, and on the south by the Burgundians. Audoin returned into Pannonia A. C. 526, and there overcame the Gepides. Albain A. C. 551, overthrew the kingdom of the Gepides, and slew their king Chunnimund: A. C. 563, he assisted the Greek emperor against Totila king of the Ostrogoths in Italy; and A. C. 568, led his people out of Pannonia into Lombardy, where they reigned till the year 774.

According to Paulus *Diaconus*, the Lombards with many other Gothic nations came into the empire from beyond the Danube in the reign of Arcadius and Honorius,

that is, between the years 395 and 408. But they might come in a little earlier: for we are told that the Lombards, under their captains Ibor and Ayon, beat the Vandals in battle; and Prosper placeth this victory in the consulship of Ausonius and Olybrius, that is, A. C. 379. Before this war the Vandals had remained quiet forty years in the seats granted them in Pannonia by Constantine the Great. And therefore if these were the same Vandals, this war must have been in Pannonia; and might be occasioned by the coming of the Lombards over the Danube into Pannonia, a year or two before the battle; and so have put an end to that quiet which had lasted forty years. After Gratian and Theodosius had quieted the Barbarians, they might either retire over the Danube, or continue quiet under the Romans till the death of Theodosius; and then either invade the empire anew, or throw off all subjection to it. By their wars, first with the Vandals, and then with the Bulgarians, a Scythian nation so called from the river Volga, whence they came; it appears that even in those days they were a kingdom not contemptible.

10. These nine kingdoms being rent away, we are next to consider the residue of the western empire. While this empire continued entire, it was the best itself: but the residue thereof is only a part of it. Now, if this part be considered as a horn, the reign of this horn may be dated from the translation of the imperial seat from Rome to Ravenna, which was in October A. C. 408. For then the emperor Honorius, fearing that Alaric would besiege him in Rome, if he staid there, retired to Millan, and thence to Ravenna: and the ensuing siege and sacking of Rome confirmed his residence there, so that he and his successors ever after made it their home. Accordingly *Machiavel* in his Florentine history writes, that, "Valentinian having left Rome, translated the seat of the empire to Ravenna."

Rhætia belonged to the western emperors, so long as that empire stood; and then it descended, with Italy and the Roman Senate, to Odoacer king of the Heruli in Italy, and after him to Theoderic king of the Ostrogoths and his successors, by the grant of the Greek emperors. Upon the death of Valentinian the second, the Alemans and Suevians invaded Rhætia A. C. 455. But I do not find they erected any settled kingdom there: for in the year 457, while they were yet depopulating Rhætia, they were attacked and beaten by Buto, master of the horse to the emperor Majoranus; and I hear nothing more of their invading Rhætia. Clodovæus king of France, in or about the year 496, conquered a kingdom of the Alemans, and slew their last king Ermeric. But this kingdom was seated in Germany, and only bordered upon Rhætia: for its people fled from Clodovæus into the neighbouring kingdom of the Ostrogoths under Theoderic, who received them as friends, and wrote a friendly letter to Clodovæus in their behalf: and by this means they became inhabitants of Rhætia, as subjects under the dominion of the Ostrogoths.

When the Greek emperor conquered the Ostrogoths, he succeeded them in the kingdom of Ravenna; not only by right of conquest but also by right of inheritance; the Roman senate still going along with this kingdom. Therefore we may reckon that this kingdom continued in the exarchate of Ravenna and senate of Rome: for the remainder of the western empire went along with the senate of Rome, by reason of the right which this senate still retained, and at length exerted, of choosing a new western emperor.

I have now enumerated the ten kingdom, into which the western empire became divided, at its first breaking, that is, at the time of Rome's being besieged and taken by the Goths. Some of these kingdoms at length fell, and new ones arose: but whatever was their number afterwards, they are still called the ten kings from their first Number.

Of the eleventh horn of Daniel's fourth leaf.

Now Daniel considered the horns, and behold there came up among them another horn, before whom there were three of the first horns pluck'd up by the roots; and behold in this horn were eyes like the eyes of a man, and a mouth speaking great things, chap. vii 8. — and his horn was more stout than his fellows, — and the same horn made war with

with the saints, and prevailed against them, ver. 20, 21. and one who stood by, and made Daniel know the interpretation of these things, told him, that *the ten horns were ten kings that should arise, and another should arise after them, and be diverse from the first, and he should subdue three kings; and speak great words against the Most High, and wear out the saints; and think to change times and laws: and that they should be given into his hands until a time and times and half a time*, ver. 24, 25. Kings are put for kingdoms, as above; and therefore the little horn is a little kingdom. It was a horn of the fourth beast, and rooted up three of his first horns; and therefore we are to look for it among the nations of the Latin empire, after the rise of the ten horns. But it was a kingdom of a different kind from the other ten kingdoms, having a life or soul peculiar to itself, with eyes and a mouth. By its eyes it was a *seer*; and by its mouth speaking great things, and changing times and laws, it was a *Prophet* as well as a *king*. And such a *seer*, a *Prophet*, and a *king*, is the church of Rome.

A *seer*, ἑπίσκοπος, is a bishop in the literal sense of the word; and this church claims the universal bishoprick.

With his mouth he gives laws to kings and nations as an oracle; and pretends to the infallibility, and that his dictates are binding to the whole world; which is to be a *Prophet* in the highest degree.

In the eighth century, by rooting up and subduing the exarchate of Ravenna, the kingdom of the Lombards, and the senate and dukedom of Rome; he acquired Peter's patrimony out of their dominions; and thereby rose up as a temporal prince or king, or horn of the fourth beast.

In a small book printed at Paris A. C. 1689, entitled, *An historical dissertation upon some coins of Charles the Great, Ludovicus Pius, Lotharius, and their successors stamped at Rome*, it is recorded, that in the days of pope Leo X, there was remaining in the Vatican, and till those days exposed to publick view, an inscription in honour of Pipin the father of Charles the Great, in these words: *Pipinum pium, primum fuisse qui amplificandæ Ecclesiæ Romanæ viam aperuerit, Exarchatu Ravennate, & plurimis aliis oblati*; "That Pipin the pious was the first who opened the way to the grandeur of the church of Rome, conferring upon her the exarchate of Ravenna and many other oblations." In and before the reign of the emperors Gracian and Theodosius, the bishop of Rome lived splendidly; but this was the oblations of the Roman ladies, as Hammanus describes. After those reigns Italy was invaded by foreign nations, and did not get rid of her troubles before the fall of the kingdom of Lombardy. It was certainly by the victory of the see of Rome over the Greek emperor, the king of Lombardy, and the senate of Rome, that she acquired Peter's patrimony, and rose up to her greatness. The donation of Constantine the Great is a fiction, and so is the donation of the Alpes Cottæ to the pope by Aripert king of the Lombards: for the Alpes Cottæ were a part of the Exarchate, and in the days of Aripert belonging to the Greek emperor.

The innovation of the dead, and veneration of their images, being gradually introduced in the 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th centuries, the Greek emperor Philippicus declared against the latter, A. C. 711 or 712. And the emperor Leo Isaurus, to put a stop to it, called a meeting of counsellors and bishops in his palace, A. C. 726; and by their advice put out an edict against that worship, and wrote to pope Gregory II. that a general council might be called. But the pope thereupon called a council at Rome, confirmed the worship of images, excommunicated the Greek emperor, absolved the people from their allegiance, and forbade them to pay tribute, or otherwise be obedient to him. Then the people of Rome, Campania, Ravenna and Pentapolis, with the cities under them, revolted and laid violent hands upon their magistrates, killing the exarch Paul at Ravenna, and laying aside Peter duke of Rome who was become blind: and when Exhilaratus duke of Campania incited the people against the pope, the Romans invaded Campania, and slew him with his son Hadrian. Then a new exarch, Eutychius, coming to Naples, sent some secretly to take away the lives of the pope and the nobles of Rome: but the plot being discovered, the Romans revolted absolutely from the Greek emperor, and took an oath to preserve the life of the pope, to defend

his state, and be obedient to his authority in all things. Thus Rome with its dutchy, including part of Tuscany and part of Campania, revolted in the year 726, and became a free state under the government of the senate of this city. The authority of the senate in civil affairs was henceforward absolute, the authority of the pope extending hitherto no farther than to the affairs of the church only.

At that time the Lombards also being zealous for the worship of images, and pretending to favour the cause of the pope, invaded the cities of the exarchate: and at length, viz. A. C. 752, took Ravenna, and put an end to the exarchate, Sigonius ib. ad Ann. 726, 752. And this was the first of the three kingdoms which fell before the little horn.

In the year 751, pope Zechary deposed Childeric, a slothful and useless king of France, and the last of the race of Merovæus; Sigon. ib. Ann. 750. and absolving his subjects from their oath of allegiance, gave the kingdom to Pipin the major of the palace; and thereby made a new and potent friend. His successor pope Stephen III, knowing better how to deal with the Greek emperor than with the Lombards, went the next year to the king of the Lombards, to persuade him to return the exarchate to the emperor. But this not succeeding, he went into France, and persuaded Pipin to take the exarchate and Pentapolis from the Lombards, and give it to St. Peter. Accordingly Pipin A. C. 754, came with an army into Italy, and made Aistulphus king of the Lombards promise the surrender: but the next year Aistulphus, on the contrary, to revenge himself on the pope, besieged the city of Rome. Whereupon the pope sent letters to Pipin, wherein he told him, that if he came not speedily against the Lombards, *pro datâ sibi potentia, alienandum fore a regno Dei & viti æterna*, he should be excommunicated, and excluded the kingdom of God, and deprived of eternal life. Pipin therefore, fearing a revolt of his subjects, and being indebted to the church of Rome, came speedily with an army into Italy, raised the siege, besieged the Lombards in Pavia, and forced them to surrender the exarchate and region of Pentapolis to the pope for a perpetual possession. Thus the pope became lord of Ravenna, and the exarchate, some few cities excepted; and the keys were sent to Rome, and laid upon the confession of St. Peter, that is, upon his tomb at the high altar, *in signum veri perpetuæque domini, sed pietate regis gratuita, i. e. in token of true and perpetual dominion obtained by the gratuitous piety of the king*, as the inscription of a coin of Pipin hath it. This was in the year of Christ 755. And henceforward the popes being temporal princes, left off in their epistles and bulls to note the years of the Greek emperors, as they had hitherto done.

After this the Lombards invading the pope's countries, Sigon. ib. Ann. 753. Pope Adrian sent to Charles the Great, the son and successor of Pipin, to come to his assistance. Accordingly Charles entered Italy with an army, invaded the Lombards, overthrew their kingdom, became master of their countries, and restored to the pope, not only what they had taken from him, but also the rest of the exarchate which they had promised Pipin to surrender to him, but had hitherto detained; and also gave him some cities of the Lombards, and was in return himself made Patricius by the Romans, and had the authority of confirming the elections of the popes conferred upon him. These things were done in the years 773 and 774. This kingdom of the Lombards was the second kingdom which fell before the little horn. But Rome, which was to be the seat of his kingdom, was not yet his own.

In the year 796, Leo III. being made pope, notified his election to Charles the Great by his legates, sending to him for a present, the golden keys of the confession of Peter, and the banner of the city of Rome. Sigon. de Regno Ital. ad ann. 796. the first as an acknowledgment of the pope's holding the cities of the exarchate, and Lombardy, by the grant of Charles; the other as a signification that Charles should come and subdue the senate and people of Rome, as he had done the exarchate and the kingdom of the Lombards. For the pope at the same time desired Charles to send some of his princes to Rome, who might subject the Roman people to him, and bind them

them by oath in *fide & subjectione*, "in fealty and subjection," as his words are recited by Sigonius.

Hence arose a misunderstanding between the pope and the city: and the Romans about two or three years after, by assistance of some of the clergy, raised such tumults against him, as gave occasion to a new state of things in all the west. For two of the clergy accused him of crimes, and the Romans with an armed force, seized him, stripped him of his sacerdotal habit, and imprisoned him in a monastery. But by assistance of his friends he made his escape, and fled into Germany to Charles the Great, to whom he complained of the Romans for acting against him out of a design to throw off all authority of the Church, and to recover their ancient freedom. In his absence his accusers with their forces ravaged the possessions of the Church, and sent the accusation to Charles; who before the end of the year sent the pope back to Rome with a large retinue. The nobles and Bishops of France who accompanied him, examined the chief of his accusers at Rome, and sent them into France in custody. This was in the year 799. The next year Charles himself went to Rome, and presided in a council of Italian and French Bishops to hear both parties. But when the pope's adversaries expected to be heard, the council declared that he was the *Supreme Judge of all men*, was above being judged by any other than himself. Vide *Anastasium*. Whereupon he made a solemn declaration of his innocence before all the people, and by doing so was look'd upon as acquitted.

Soon after, upon Christmas-day, the people of Rome, who had hitherto elected their Bishop, and reckoned that they and their senate inherited the rights of the ancient senate and people of Rome, voted Charles their emperor, and subjected themselves to him in such manner as the old Roman empire and their senate were subjected to the old Roman emperors. The pope crowned him, and anointed him with holy oil, and worshipped him on his knees after the manner of adoring the old Roman emperors; the emperor, on the other hand, took the following oath to the pope: *In nomine Christi spondeo atque polliceor, Ego Carolus Imperator coram Deo & beato Petro Apostolo, me protectorem ac defensorem fore hujus sancte Romanæ Ecclesiæ in omnibus utilitatibus, quatenus divino fultus fuero adjutorio; prout sciero poteroque*, i. e. "In the name of Christ, I Charles the emperor, promise and declare before God and the Apostle Peter, that I will be a protector and defender of this holy Roman Church in all things needful," &c. The emperor was also made consul of Rome, and his son Pipin crowned king of Italy: and henceforward the emperor stiled himself: *Carolus serenissimus, Augustus, a Deo coronatus, magnus, pacificus, Romæ gubernans imperium*; or *Imperator Romanorum*, i. e. "The most serene Charles, Augustus, crowned by God, great and pacific emperor of the Romans;" and was prayed for in the Churches of Rome. His image was henceforward put upon the coins of Rome: While the enemies of the pope, to the number of three hundred Romans, and two or three of the clergy, were sentenced to death. The three hundred Romans were beheaded in one day in the Lateran fields: but the clergymen at the intercession of the pope were pardoned, and banished into France. And thus the title of Roman emperor, which had hitherto been in the Greek emperors, was by this act transferred in the west to the kings of France.

After these things, Sigon. de Regno Ital. Charles gave the city and dutchy of Rome to the pope, subordinately to himself as emperor of the Romans; spent the winter in ordering the affairs of Rome, and those of the apostolic see, and of all Italy, both civil and ecclesiastical, and in making new laws for them; and returned the next summer into France: leaving the city under its senate, and both under the pope himself. But hearing that his new laws were not observed by the judges in dictating the law, nor by the people in hearing it; and that the great men took servants from free men, and from the Churches and monasteries, to labour in their vineyards, fields, pastures and houses, and continued to exact cattle and wine of them, and to oppress those that served the Churches: he wrote to his son Pipin to remedy these abuses, to take care of the Church, and see his laws executed.

Now the senate and people and principality of Rome I take to be the *third king the little horn overcame*, and
No. C.

even the chief of the three. For this people elected the pope and the emperor; and now, by electing the emperor and making him consul, was acknowledged to retain the authority of the old Roman senate and people. This city was the metropolis of the old Roman empire, represented in Daniel by *the fourth beast*; and by subduing the senate and people and dutchy, it became the metropolis of the *little horn* of that beast, and completed Peter's patrimony, which was the kingdom of that *horn*. Besides, this victory was attended with greater consequences than those over the other two kings. For it set up the western empire, which continues to this day. It set up the pope above the judicature of the Roman senate, and above that of a council of Italian and French Bishops, and even above all human judicature; and gave him the supremacy over the western Churches and their councils in a high degree. It gave him *a look more stout than his fellows*; so that when this new religion began to be established in the minds of men, he grappled not only with kings, but even with the western emperor himself. It is observable also, that the custom of kissing the pope's feet, vulgarly the pope's toe, an honour superior to that of kings and emperors, began about this time. There are some instances of it in the ninth century: Platina tells us, that the feet of pope Leo IV. were kissed, according to ancient custom, pretending that his hand was infected by the kiss of a woman. The popes began also about this time to canonize Saints; and to grant indulgences and pardons: and some represent that Leo III. was the first author of all these things. It is further observable, that Charles the Great, between the years 775 and 796, conquered all Germany from the Rhine and Danube northward to the Baltic Sea, and eastward to the river Teis; extending his conquests also into Spain as far as the river Ebro: and by these conquests he laid the foundation of the new empire; and at the same time propagated the Roman Catholick religion into all his conquests, obliging the Saxons and Huns who were Heathens, to receive the Roman faith, and distributing his northern conquests into Bishopricks, granting tithes to the clergy and Peter-pence to the pope: by all which the church of Rome was highly enlarged, enriched, exalted, and established.

In the forementioned *Dissertation upon some coins of Charles the Great, Ludovicus Pius, Lotharius, and their successors, stamped at Rome*, there is a draught of a piece of Mosaic work which pope Leo III. caused to be made in his palace near the Church of John Lateran, in memory of his sending the standard or banner of the city of Rome curiously wrought, to Charles the Great; and which still remained there at the publishing of the said book. In the Mosaic work there appeared Peter with three keys in his lap, reaching the *Pallium* to the pope with his right hand, and the banner of the city to Charles the Great with his left. By the pope was this inscription, *SCISSIMUS D. N. LEO PP*; by the king this, *D. N. CARULO REGI*; and under the feet of Peter this, *BEATE PETRE, DONA VITAM LEONI PP, ET VICTORIAM CARULO REGI DONA*. This monument gives the title of king to Charles, and therefore was erected before he was emperor. It was erected when Peter was reaching the *Pallium* to the pope, and the pope was sending the banner of the city to Charles, that is, A. C. 796. The words above, *Sanctissimus Dominus noster Leo papa Domini nostro Carolo regi*, relate to the message; and the words below, *Beate Petro, dona vitam Leoni papæ & victoriam Carolo regi dona*, are a prayer that in this undertaking God would preserve the life of the pope, and give victory to the king over the Romans. The three keys in the lap of Peter signify the keys of the three parts of his patrimony, that of Rome with its dutchy, which the pope claimed and was conquering, those of Ravenna with the exarchate, and of the territories taken from the Lombards; both which he had newly conquered. These were the three dominions, whose keys were in the lap of St. Peter, and whose crowns are now worn by the pope, and by the conquest of which he became the *little horn* of the *fourth beast*. By Peter's giving the *Pallium* to the pope with his right hand, and the banner of the city to the king with his left, and by naming the pope before the king in the inscription, may be understood that the pope was then reckoned superior in dignity to the kings of the earth.

After the death of Charles the Great, his son and successor Ludovicus Pius, at the request of the pope, confirmed the donations of his grandfather and father to the see of Rome. And in the confirmation, (which is in Sigonius, lib. 4. de Regno Italiz, ad An. 817.) he names first Rome with its Duchy extending into Tuscany and Campania; then the exarchate of Ravenna, with Pentapolis; and in the third place, the territories taken from the Lombards. These are his three conquests, and he was to hold them of the emperor for the use of the church, *sub integritate, i. e.* entirely, without the emperor's meddling therewith, or without the jurisdiction or the power of the pope therein, unless called thereto in certain cases. This ratification the emperor Ludovicus sealed with an oath: and as the king of the Ostrogoths, for acknowledging that he held his kingdom of Italy of the Greek emperor, stamped the effigies of the emperor on one side of his coins and his own on the reverse; so the pope made the like acknowledgment to the western emperor. For the pope began now to coin money, and the coins of Rome are henceforward found with the heads of the emperors, Charles, Ludovicus Pius, Lotharius, and their successors, on the one side, and the pope's inscription on the reverse, for many years. — But now let us see how he came by his great power.

Of the power of the eleventh horn of Daniel's fourth beast, to change times and laws.

In the reign of the Greek emperor Justinian, and again in the reign of Phocas, the bishop of Rome obtained some dominion over the Greek churches, but of no long continuance. His standing dominion was only over the nations of the western empire, represented by Daniel's fourth beast. And this jurisdiction was set up by an edict of the emperors Gratian and Valentinian, which is recorded in the annals of Baronius, anno 381. sect. 6.

The granting of this jurisdiction to the pope gave several bishops occasion to write to him for his resolutions upon doubtful cases, whereupon he answered by decretal epistles; and henceforward he gave laws to the western churches by such epistles. Himerius bishop of Taraco, the head city of a province in Spain, writing to pope Damasus for his direction about certain ecclesiastical matters, and the letter not arriving at Rome till after the death of Damasus, A. C. 384; his successor Siricus answered the same with a legislative authority, concluding thus: *Explicuimus, ut arbitror, frater charissime, universa quæ digesta sunt in querelam; & ad singulas causas, de quibus ad Romanam ecclesiam, utpote ad caput tui corporis, retulisti; sufficientia, quantum opinor, responsa reddidimus. Nunc fraternitatis tuæ animum ad servandos canones, & tenenda decretalia constituta, magis ac magis incitamus, &c. i. e.* Most beloved brother, we have, as I think, explained all those matters of which you complained; and, as I believe, have given a sufficient answer to all those matters or cases, concerning which you have appealed to the church of Rome, as to the head of your body. We take this opportunity to urge more especially your fraternal zeal to observe the canons, and to hold fast the decretal institutes, &c. Dat. 3 id. Febr. A. C. 385.

Pope Liberius in the reign of Jovian or Valentinian I. sent general decrees to the provinces, ordering that the Arians should not be rebaptized: and this he did in favour of the council of Alexandria, that nothing more should be required of them than to renounce their opinions. Pope Damasus is said to have decreed in a Roman council, that tithes and tenths should be paid upon pain of an *anathema*; and that *Glory be to the Father, &c.* should be said or sung at the end of the Psalms. But the first decretal epistle now extant is this of Siricus to Himerius; by which the pope made Himerius his vicar over all Spain for promulging his decrees, and seeing them observed. The bishop of Sevil was also the pope's vicar sometimes. And pope Hormisdas, (epist. 24. 26.) made the bishop of Sevil his vicar over Bætica and Lusitania, and the bishop of Taraco his vicar over all the rest of Spain, as appears by his epistles to them.

Pope Innocent the first, in his decretal epistle to Victricius bishop of Rouen in France, A. C. 404, in pursuance of the edict of Gracian, directs him to refer the greater causes to the see of Rome, according to custom. But the

bishop of Arles soon after became the pope's vicar over all Gallia: for pope Zosimus, A. C. 417, ordaining that none should have access to him without the credentials of his vicars, conferred upon Patroclus the bishop of Arles this authority over all Gallia, as may be seen in Baronius.

By the influence of the same imperial edict, not only Spain and Gallia, but also Illyricum became subject to the pope. Damasus made Ascholius, or Acholius, bishop of Thessalonica the metropolis of Oriental Illyricum, his vicar for hearing of causes; and in the year 382, Acholius being summoned by pope Damasus, came to a council at Rome. Pope Siricius the successor of Damasus, decreed that no bishop should be ordained in Illyricum without the consent of Anysius the successor of Acholius. And the following popes gave Rufus the successor of Anysius, a power of calling provincial councils: for in the collections of Holstenius there is an account of a council of Rome convened under pope Boniface II. in which were produced letters of Damasus, Siricius, Innocent I. Boniface I. and Celestine bishops of Rome, to Ascholius, Anysius and Rufus, bishops of Thessalonica: in which letters they commend to them the hearing of causes in Illyricum, granted by the Lord and the Holy Canons to the Apostolick see throughout that province.

Occidental Illyricum comprehended Pannonia *prima* and *secunda*, Savia, Dalmatia, Noricum mediterraneum, and Noricum ripense; and its metropolis was Sirmium, till Attila destroyed this city. Afterwards Laureacum became the metropolis of Noricum and both Pannonias, and Salona the metropolis of Dalmatia, vide Caroli a S. Paulo Geographiam sacram, p. 72, 73. Now the bishops of Laureacum and Salona received the Pallium from the pope: and Zosimus, in his decretal epistle to Helychius bishop of Salona, directed him to denounce the Apostolick decrees as well to the bishops of his own, as to those of the neighbouring provinces. The subjection of these provinces to the see of Rome seems to have begun in Anemius, who was ordained bishop of Sirmium by Ambrose bishop of Millain, and who in the council of Aquileia under pope Damasus, A. C. 381, declared his sentence in these words: *Caput Illyrici non nisi civitas Sirmienfis: Ego igitur illius civitatis Episcopus sum. Eum qui non constituitur filium Dei æternum, & coeternum patri, qui est sempiternus, anathema dico, i. e.* The chief city of Illyricum is Sirmium: and I am bishop of that city, I pronounce him excommunicate who doth not confess, that the Son of God is eternal, and co-eternal with the father, who is sempiternal or everlasting. The next year Anemius and Ambrose, with Valerian bishop of Aquileia, Acholius bishop of Thessalonica, and many others, went to the council of Rome, which met for over-ruling the Greek church by majority of votes, and exalting the authority of the Apostolick see, as was attempted before in the council of Sardica.

Aquileia was the second city of the western empire, and by some called the second Rome. It was the metropolis of Istria, Forum Julium, and Venetia; and its subjection to the see of Rome is manifest by the decretal epistle of Leo I. directed to Nicetas bishop of this city; Data 12 Kal. Apr. Majorano Aug. Cos. A. C. 458. Gregory the Great A. C. 591, cited Severus bishop of Aquileia to appear before him in judgment in a council at Rome, Greg. M. lib. 1. Indic. 9. Epist. 16.

The bishops of Aquileia and Millain created one another, and therefore were of equal authority, and alike subject to the see of Rome, apud Gratianum de Mediolanensi & Aquileiensi episcopis. When Laurentius bishop of Millain had excommunicated Magnus, one of his presbyters, and was dead, Gregory the Great absolved Magnus, and sent the Pallium to the new elected bishop Constantius; Greg. M. lib. 3. Epist. 26. & lib. 4. epist. 1. whom the next year he reprehended of partiality in judging Fortunatus, and commanded him to send Fortunatus to Rome to be judged there: Greg. lib. 5. epist. 4. four years after he appointed the bishops of Millain and Ravenna to hear the cause of one Maximus; Greg. lib. 9. epist. 10 & 67. and two years after, viz. A. C. 601, when Constantius was dead, and the people of Millain had elected Deusdedit his successor, and the Lombards had elected another, Gregory (lib. 11. epist. 3, 4.) wrote to the notary, clergy, and people of Millain, that by the authority of his letters Deusdedit should be ordained, and that he whom the Lombards had ordained was an unworthy successor of Ambrose:

brose : whence I gather, that the church of Millain had continued in this state of subordination to the see of Rome ever since the days of Ambrose ; for Ambrose himself acknowledged the authority of that see, Ambros. l. 3. de sacramentis, c. 1. And in his commentary upon 1 Tim. iii. And in conjunction with the synod of Aquileia A. C. 381, in a synodical epistle to the emperor Gratian. The churches therefore of Aquileia and Millain were subject to the see of Rome from the days of the emperor Gratian. Auzentius the predecessor of Ambrose was not subject to the see of Rome, and consequently the subjection of the church of Millain began in Ambrose. This diocese of Millain contained Liguria with Insubria, the Alpes Cottiae and Rhætia ; and was divided from the diocese of Aquileia by the river Addua. In the year 844, the bishop of Millain broke off from the see of Rome, and continued in this separation about 200 years, as is related by Sigonius de Regno Italiæ, lib. 5.

The bishop of Ravenna, the metropolis of Flaminia and Æmilia, was also subject to the pope : for Zosimus, A. C. 417, excommunicated some of the presbyters of that church, and wrote a commonitory epistle about them to the clergy of that church as a branch of the Roman church : *In sua, faith he, hoc est, in ecclesia nostra Romana.* When those of Ravenna, having elected a new bishop, gave notice thereof to pope Sixtus, the pope set him aside, and ordained Peter Chrysologus in his room : See Baronius, anno 433. sect. 24. Pope Leo I. being consulted by Leo bishop of Ravenna about some questions, answered him by a decretal epistle, A. C. 451. And pope Gregory the Great, reprehending John bishop of Ravenna about the use of the Pallium, tells him a precept of one of his predecessors, pope John, commanding that all the privileges formerly granted to the bishop and church of Ravenna should be kept : to this John returned a submissive answer ; and after his death pope Gregory ordered a visitation of the church of Ravenna, confirmed the privileges heretofore granted them, and sent his Pallium, as of ancient custom, to their new bishop Marinian, (Greg. M. lib. 3. epist. 56, 57. & lib. 5. epist. 25, 26, 56.) Yet this church revolted sometimes from the church of Rome, but returned again to its obedience.

The rest of Italy, with the islands adjacent, containing the *suburbicarian* region or ten provinces under the temporal vicar of Rome, viz. Campania, Tuscia and Umbria, Picenum *suburbicarian*, Sicily, Apulia and Calabria, Bruttii and Lucania, Samnium, Sardinia, Corsica, and Valeria, constituted the proper province of the bishop of Rome. For the council of Nice in their fifth canon ordained that councils should be held every spring and autumn in every province ; and according to this canon, the bishops of this province met at Rome every half year. In this sense pope Leo I. applied this canon to Rome, in a decretal epistle to the bishops of Sicily, written Alippio & Ardabure Coss. A. C. 447. The province of Rome therefore comprehended Sicily, with so much of Italy, and the neighbouring islands, as sent bishops to the annual councils of Rome ; but extended not into the provinces of Ravenna, Aquileia, Millain, Arles, &c. those provinces having councils of their own. The bishops in every province of the Roman empire were convened in council by the metropolitan or bishop of the head city of the province, and this bishop presided in that council : but the bishop of Rome did not only preside in his own council of the bishops of the *suburbicarian* regions, but also gave orders to the metropolitans of all the other provinces in the western empire, as their universal governor ; as may be further perceived by the following instances.

Pope Zosimus A. C. 417, cited Proculus bishop of Marfeilles to appear before a council at Rome for illegitimate ordinations ; and condemned him, as he mentions in several of his epistles. Pope Boniface I. A. C. 419, upon a complaint of the clergy of Valentia against Maximus a bishop, summoned the bishops of all Gallia and the seven provinces to convene in a council against him ; and saith in his epistle, that his predecessors had done the like. Pope Leo I. called a general council of all the provinces of Spain to meet in Gallæcia against the Manichees and Priscillanists, as he says in his decretal epistle to Turribius a Spanish bishop. And in one of his decretal epistles to Nicetas of Aquileia, he commands him to call a council of the bishops of that province against the Pelagians, which might

ratify all the synodical decrees which had been already ratified by the see of Rome against this heresy. And in his decretal epistle to Anastasius bishop of Thessalonica, he ordained that bishop should hold two provincial councils every year, and refer the harder causes to the see of Rome : and if upon any extraordinary occasion it should be necessary to call a council, he should not be troublesome to the bishops under him, but content himself with two bishops out of every province, and not detain them above fifteen days. In the same epistle he describes the form of church-government then set up, to consist in a subordination of all the churches to the see of Rome : which sufficiently shews the monarchical form of government then set up in the churches of the western empire under the bishop of Rome, by means of the imperial decree of Gratian, and the appeals and decretal epistles grounded thereupon.

The same pope Leo, having in a council at Rome passed sentence upon Hilary bishop of Arles, for what he had done by a provincial council in Gallia, took occasion from thence to procure an edict from the western emperor Valentinian III. for the more absolute establishing the authority of his see over all the churches of the western empire. Edict viii. Id. Jun. Romæ, A. C. 445. as it is to be found in Baronius's annals.

By this edict, the emperor Valentinian enjoined an absolute obedience to the will of the bishop of Rome throughout all the churches of his empire ; and declares, that for the bishops to attempt any thing without the pope's authority is contrary to ancient custom, and that the bishops summoned to appear before his judicature must be carried thither by the governor of the province ; and he ascribes these privileges of the see of Rome to the concessions of his dead ancestors, that is, to the edict of Gratian and Valentinian II. as above : by which reckoning this dominion of the church of Rome was now of 66 years standing : and if in all this time it had not been sufficiently established, this new edict was enough to settle it beyond all question throughout the western empire.

While this ecclesiastical dominion was rising up, the northern barbarous nations invaded the western empire, and founded several kingdoms therein, of different religions from the church of Rome. But these kingdoms by degrees embraced the Roman faith, and at the same time submitted to the pope's authority. The Franks in Gaul submitted in the end of the fifth century, the Goths in Spain in the end of the sixth : and the Lombards in Italy were conquered by Charles the Great, A. C. 774. Between the years 775 and 794, the same Charles extended the pope's authority as far as the river Theyse and the Baltic-sea ; he then set him above all human judicature, and at the same time assisted him in subduing the city and duchy of Rome. By the conversion of the ten kingdoms to the Roman religion, the pope only enlarged his spiritual dominion, but did not rise up as a horn of the beast. It was his *temporal* dominion which made him one of the *korns* : and this dominion he acquired in the latter half of the eighth century, by subduing three of the former *korns*, as above. And now being arrived at a temporal dominion, and a power above all human judicature, he reigned *with a look more stout than his fellows*, and *times and laws were henceforward given into his hands, for a time, times and half a time*, or three times and an half ; that is, for 1260 solar years, reckoning a time for a calendar year of 360 days, and a day for a solar year. After which, ver. 26. *the judgment is to sit, and they shall take away his dominion*, not at once, but by degrees, *to consume, and to destroy it unto the end*, ver. 27. *And the kingdom and dominion, and greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven shall, by degrees, be given unto the people of the saints of the most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him.*

CHAP. viii. This chapter consists of two parts.

1st, The vision that Daniel had of the ram and of the goat fighting with one another.

2dly, The interpretation of that vision made by the Angel Gabriel. The substance of which is, that a king of Javan, that is, of Greece, should overthrow the monarchy of the Medes and Persians ; as it happened when Alexander the Great conquered Darius the king of Persia. Then the Angel declares that after the death of Alexander, his empire should be divided into four kingdoms, out of

one of which, there should arise a king, proud, and cruel, who would grievously persecute the Jews, and cause the service of God to cease for the space of two years and a half; but that he should at last be destroyed. This was Antiochus, king of Syria.

What we find foretold in this chapter, of the victories that Alexander was to gain over Darins, king of Persia, and of the monarchy he was to found, as well as the calamities that Antiochus was to bring upon the Jews, is perfectly conformable to the event, as all the histories of those times inform us. By which we have an undoubted proof, that this Prophecy of Daniel is of Divine Inspiration; and that the things which happen in the world, are all dispens'd by the providence of God. Upon which you may observe what God made known to Daniel, *viz.* That Antiochus would persecute the Jews, that he would abolish Divine Service, during three years and a half, and that the Jews should, at length, be deliver'd from the tyranny of that prince. Learn hence,

1st, That God does sometimes permit his Church to be persecuted, and even oppress'd for a while, but that however, he does not quite forsake her, but after her trials, sends her rest.

2dly, That he sets bounds to the malice of her persecutors, and makes them at last examples of his Justice and Vengeance.

Ver. 1. *In the third year of the reign of king Belshazzar.* King of Babylon, and immediate predecessor of Darius the Mede. And here it deserves our observation, that this vision that follows is writ in Hebrew, because that part of it which relates to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes did chiefly concern the Jews.

— *A vision appeared unto me, even unto me Daniel.* Non jam secundum quietem, says Grotius, sed ex vigilantia, not in sleep, but when I was awake, and up and abroad.

— *After that which appeared to me at first.* Namely, in the beginning of the reign of Belshazzar, ch. vii.

Ver. 2. *And I saw in a vision, (and it came to pass that I was at Shushan in the palace which is in the province of Elam.)* He describes the place where he saw this vision, as well as the time when. Now this Shushan is that royal city of the Persians, that is called Susa by historians and geographers, a famous city situated betwixt Persis and Babylon, from whence the country round about is called Susiana. But there is mention of this Susa being in the province of Elam, that is, of Elymais, because Elam is the name of the Persian people. Isa. xxi. 2. Go up, O Elam, besiege O Media; Ascende O Elam, i. e. Et tu O Mede invadite urbem, says Cornelius à Lapide. The vision therefore which so much concerns the Persian empire, Daniel saw upon the spot, even in the province of Elam, which denotes the Persians.

— *And I saw in a vision and I was by the river Ulai.* Which is *Uleus Fluvius* with historians and geographers. For Pliny says, *Susianem ab Elymaide determinat Annis Uleus ortus in Medis, &c.* The river Ulai, which rises in Media, divides Susa from Elymais, &c. It rises in Media, touches upon Susa, and at last exonerates it self into the Persian-gulf, according to Ptolemy as well as Bochartus. Here also note, that it was usual for the Prophets to see visions by river-sides: Of which Daniel gives us another instance, ch. x. 4. And Ezekiel saw his vision by the river Chebar, Ezek. i. 3. such places being proper for retirement and contemplation.

Ver. 3. *Then I lift up mine eyes and saw, and behold there stood before the river.* He saw externally with his eyes, when he was awake and had the use of his bodily senses, being sent there with some charge under Belshazzar, before that high honour of all, which he bestowed upon him.

— *A ram which had two horns.* By which as the Angel afterwards interprets, is understood the Medo-Persian empire, and kings thereof; Media and Persia being noted by the two horns, see ch. vii. 24. as by the two horns of the beast, Rev. xiii. the two patriarchates of Rome and Constantinople are noted. But why the Persian king with his kingdom should be represented by a ram, many reasons occur. For first a ram is a strong fighting animal, and Elam and Ealam in Chaldee as Eil in Hebrew signifies *to be strong*, as it also signifies a ram. And such paronomastical allusions are not unusual with the

Prophets, as I have observed elsewhere. The strength therefore and pugnaciousness of the ram, well represent Cyrus and his successors. But secondly, a ram, according to Achmetes signifies riches, which therefore intimates the vast treasures laid up in the castle at Susa and other places, in the reigns of Cyrus and Darius Cadomannus; see Grotius upon the place, from whom you may have a more particular account. And lastly, you may add also, that for the kindness of the kings of Persia to the Jews, (especially in comparison of the Babylonian monarchs and Greek) they making several favourable decrees in their behalf, they with their kingdom is represented by the figure of this better sort of animals, as sheep are conceived to be, whether male or female, and the ram is of the male kind thereof. Wherefore though they were as a bear to other nations, yet they were as a ram to the Jews, or rather as a sheep.

— *And the two horns were high, but one was higher than the other.* The Persians here are preferred before the Medes, because they made a greater figure in the world from the times of Cyrus.

— *And the higher came up last.* The Persian power, namely, did emerge into that greatness after the Median.

4. *I saw the ram pushing westward, and northward, and southward.* He pulst westward when Darius Hystaspis and Xerxes made war against Greece; Babylon also is westward of Persia, which Cyrus took. He pulst northward when the said Darius made war against the Scythians. And southward, when Cambyfes and others of their Kings invaded Egypt, Ethiopia, and Libya. So that no beast did stand before him, neither was there any that could deliver out of his hand, but he did according to his will and became great. For the Persian king took Babylon with its whole empire, Lydia also and Ionia, Asia minor and Egypt, even all the countries his soul longed for; no body being able or daring to oppose him.

5. *And as I was considering behold an he-goat.* That the Greek empire is denoted by the he-goat we have the authority of the Angel for it, ver. 21. And why he should signify the Greek empire, there be several reasons for it: As first, it is a very apt allusion to the ancient name of the Macedonians. For a company of Greeks, under the conduct of Caranus, taking the City of Aedessa, Caranus called it afterwards Aegæa, from the flock of Goats (*Aîγες* in Greek) that led him in a misty mizling day unto the city, his omen lying in them, according to the prediction of an oracle, which bid him fix his seat in Macedonia where the goats should lead him. And therefore urbem Aedessam ob memoriam muneris Aegæas, populum Aegæatas vocavit. He called the city Aedessa Aegæas, and the inhabitants thereof Aegæates or goats in memory of the gift, saith Justin, lib. 7. So that the Macedonians (and Alexander was such) being called Aegæatæ, which is as much as the goat people in English, may be one palpable reason why the Macedonick empire should be represented by a goat. Secondly, *Hircus rapaces significat*, as Grotius observes out of Achmetes. Thirdly, In that he is called *Hircus caprarum*, it denotes Alexander's youngness when he began his enterprise of overrunning the eastern empire, he being not much past twenty years old. Fourthly, The clambering nature of the goat that gets upon the highest and steepest rocks, sets out the bold aspiring mind of Alexander, to say nothing of that strange exploit of his, literally taken in India, his ascending with his soldiers an high craggy rock that Hercules himself was deterr'd from enterprizing. And lastly, comparing the Greek nation with the Persian, as Pliny notes of goats and sheep, that the goats are the wiser and more ready witted animal, so the Greeks were more cunning and more clear-headed than the Persians. To this purpose Interpreters comment on the text. And how much Philosophy flourished in Greece is well known, and that Aristotle was the master of Alexander, and how that they affected not only long robes but long beards, which some wits among them have compared to that of a goat, as you may see in the Greek Antholog, lib. 2. *Εἰς φισκοῦρας*. So that hereby is denoted the uninterrupted success of Alexander the Great, who came from the west, or Greece, which is seated west of Persia, on the face of the earth, or carrying all before him as he spread his victorious arms into the east.

And

— *And touched not the ground.*] Which is an indication of the swiftness and speed of his conquests; having in eight years time conquered all the countries that lay between the Ægein sea and the river Hypanis in India; see Dr. Prideaux ib. p. 1. page 503. on which account this conqueror is described by the Prophet as *having four wings of a fowl*, ch. vii. 6. Also we may observe that as the swiftness of Camilla in Virgil is expressed thus, Æneid. lib. 7. 2. 809.

*Illa vel intactæ segetis per summa volaret
Gramina, nec teneras cursu læsisset aristas.*

*Outstript the winds in speed upon the plain,
Flew o're the fields, nor hurt the bearded grain.*

And the Hebrew word in the text which signifies an he-goat is derived from a root, which signifies to fly. So that this also may have some allusion to this extraordinary speed in Alexander's victories, who in the space aforesaid over-ran and vanquished the Persians, the Medes, the Babylonians and Egyptians, and the neighbouring nations.

— *And the goat had a notable horn between his eyes.*] Where it is worth our taking notice of, that here is the goat and his horn, which cannot be the same thing in nature, but one the part of the other, and there is but one goat; and therefore no more than one empire can be understood thereby, which is the Greek, of which Alexander was the first horn or sovereign. See our notes on the last chapter.

Ver. 6. *And he came to the ram that had two horns which I had seen standing before the river.*] That is, the Greek forces assaulted the Medo-Persian, signified by the ram.

— *And ran unto him in the fury of his power.*] Pliny observes that goats are of a more hot and fiery temper than sheep. So well do the symbols agree with the things signified.

Ver. 7. *And I saw him come close to the ram, and he was moved with choler against him, with a fiery courage and animosity, so that he smote the ram and brake his two horns:* i. e. the two kingdoms of Media and Persia. He made such a quick and furious onset upon the Medo-Persian empire, that he overthrew in two engagements; the first was at Issus, and the latter at Arbela. *And there was no power in the ram to stand before him, neither at Granicus a river of Phrygia, nor at Issus in Cilicia, where the exceeding numerous army of Darius was put to flight, from whence the city by Alexander was after called Nicopolis.*

— *But he cast him down to the ground and stamped upon him.*] For all Darius brought out a far more numerous army against him this last time than before, yet Alexander quite vanquished him and the whole strength of his kingdom at Arbela a city of Assyria: as Jaddus the high-priest had shewn him at Jerusalem; see Joseph. Antiq. l. xi. c. 8.

— *And there was none that could deliver the ram out of his band.*] Nay, the terror of Alexander was such, that it caused Darius his own nearest friends to betray him. And so Alexander was made master of the whole Medo-Persian empire.

Ver. 8. *Therefore the he-goat waxed very great.*] Thus the kingdom of the Greeks was exceedingly enlarged by this accession of the Medo-Persian empire, added thereunto by Alexander the Great, deservedly so called for thus enlarging his empire. *And when he was strong, (as having all this power of the Medes and Persians added to his own.) The great horn was broken.* This Alexander the Great, for all his greatness, died an immature and violent death, in the very flower of his age, at about the thirty-second or thirty-third year thereof, and that by poison (as historians record) in the height of his triumphs and prosperity.

— *And (after this great horn of the goat was broken) for it came up four notable ones.*] Not in comparison of the first great one that was broken, but in comparison of the rest of Alexander's captains, amongst whom the empire was divided after his death. But because there is not the least mention or intimation of any more than one goat, it is gross madness for any one to imagine the horns here mentioned to belong to any other but to him. Whence it is as clear as noon day, that all the horns here mentioned,

signifying particular sovereignties, there being in the mean time but one beast mentioned, which necessarily implies but one empire, state, or kingdom; that all these particular sovereignties must be the sovereignties of one and the same state or empire which the goat signified, which is the Greek empire; and the four notable horns here aimed at, I conceive, are Ptolemy the son of Lagus, sovereign of Egypt, Lybia, Palestine, Arabia, and Celo-Syria, which is the south part: Lyfimachus of Thrace and Asia, which was the northern part: Cassander (the son of Antipater) sovereign of Macedonia and Greece, which was the western part: Seleucus of Syria and the eastern countries, which answers the text.

— *Toward the four winds of heaven.*] All which, as well as the contents of the following verses, will be best interpreted by considering that the second and third empires, represented by the bear and leopard, are again represented by the ram and he-goat; but with this difference, that the ram represents the kingdoms of the Medes and Persians from the beginning of the four empires, and the goat represents the kingdom of the Greeks to the end of them. By this means, under the type of the ram and he-goat, the times of all the four empires are again described: *I lifted up mine eyes, saith Daniel, and saw, &c.* ch. viii. 3. And the ram having two horns, are the kings of Media and Persia; not two persons but two kingdoms, the kingdoms of Media and Persia; and the kingdom of Persia was the higher horn and came up last. The kingdom of Persia rose up when Cyrus, having newly conquered Babylon, revolted from Darius king of the Medes, and beat him at Pasargada, and set up the Persians above the Medes. This was the horn which came up last. And the horn which came up first was the kingdom of the Medes, from the time that Cyaxares and Nebuchadnezzar overthrew Nineveh, and shared the empire of the Assyrians between them. The empires of Media and Babylon were contemporary, and rose up together by the fall of the Assyrian empire; and the Prophecy of the four beasts begins with one of them, and that of the ram and he-goat with the other. As the ram represents the kingdom of Media and Persia from the beginning of the four empires; so the he-goat represents the empire of the Greeks to the end of those monarchies. In the reign of his great horn, and of the four horns which succeeded it, he represents this empire during the reign of the leopard; and in the reign of his little horn, which stood up in the latter time of the kingdom of the four, and after their fall became mighty, but not by his own power, he represents it during the reign of the fourth beast.

The rough goat, saith Daniel, is the king of Grecia, that is, the kingdom; and the great horn between his eyes is the first king: Not the first monarch, but the first kingdom, that which lasted during the reign of Alexander the Great, and his brother Aridæus and two young sons, Alexander and Hercules.

Ver. 22. *Now that [horn] being broken off, whereas four [horns] stood up for it, four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation [of the Greeks], but not in his [the first horn's] power.* The four horns are therefore four kingdoms; and by consequence, the first great horn which they succeeded is the first great kingdom of the Greeks, that which was founded by Alexander the Great, An. Nabonass. 414, and lasted till the death of his son Hercules, An. Nabonass. 441. And the four are those of Cassander, Lyfimachus, Antigonus, and Ptolemy, as above.

Ver. 23. *And in the latter time of their kingdom, when the transgressors are come to the full, a king [or new kingdom] of fierce countenance, and understanding dark sentences, shall stand up: and his power shall be mighty, but not by his own power.* This king was the last horn of the goat, the little horn which came up out of one of the four horns, and waxed exceeding great. The latter time of their kingdom was when the Romans began to conquer them, that is, when they conquered Perseus king of Macedonia, the fundamental kingdom of the Greeks. And at that time the transgressors came to the full: For then the high-priesthood was exposed to sale, the vessels of the temple were sold to pay for the purchase; and the high-priest, with some of the Jews, procured a licence from Antiochus Epiphanes to do after the ordinances of the Heathen, and set up a school at Jerusalem for teaching those ordinances. Then Antiochus took Jerusalem with an armed force, flew

4000 Jews, took as many prisoners, and sold them, spoiled the temple, interdicted the worship, commanded the law of Moses to be burnt, and set up the worship of the Heathen gods in all Judea. In the very same year, An. Nabonass. 580, the Romans conquered Macedonia, the chief of the four horns. Hitherto the goat was mighty by its own power, but henceforward began to be under the Romans. Daniel distinguishes the times, by describing very particularly the actions of the kings of the north and south, those two of the four horns which bordered upon Judea, until the Romans conquered Macedonia; and thenceforward only touching upon the main revolutions which happened within the compass of the nations represented by the goat. In this latter period of time, the little horn was to stand up and grow mighty, but not by his own power.

The three first of Daniel's beasts had their dominions taken away, each of them at the rise of the next beast; but their lives were prolonged, and they are all of them still alive. The third beast, or leopard, reigned in his four heads, till the rise of the fourth beast, or empire of the Latins; and his life was prolonged under their power. This leopard reigning in his four heads, signifies the same thing with the he-goat reigning in his four horns: and therefore the he-goat reigned in his four horns till the rise of Daniel's fourth beast, or empire of the Latins: Then its dominion was taken away by the Latins, but its life was prolonged under their power. The Latins are not comprehended among the nations represented by the he-goat in this Prophecy: Their power over the Greeks is only named in it, to distinguish the times in which the he-goat was mighty by his own power, from the times in which he was mighty but not by his own power. He was mighty by his own power till his dominion was taken away by the Latins; after that, his life was prolonged under their dominion, and this prolonging of his life was in the days of his last horn: For in the days of this horn the goat became mighty, but not by his own power.

Now, because this horn was a horn of the goat, we are to look for it among the nations which composed the body of the goat. Among those nations he was to rise up and grow mighty: he grew mighty towards the south, and towards the east, and towards the pleasant land; chap. viii. 9. and therefore, he was to rise up in the north-west parts of those nations, and extend his dominion towards Egypt, Syria and Judea. In the latter time of the kingdom of the four horns, it was to rise up out of one of them and subdue the rest, but not by its own power. It was to be assisted by a foreign power, a power superior to itself, the power which took away the dominion of the third beast, the power of the fourth beast. And such a little horn was the kingdom of Macedonia, from the time that it became subject to the Romans. This kingdom, by the victory of the Romans over Perseus king of Macedonia, Anno Nabonass. 580, ceased to be one of the four horns of the goat, and became a dominion of a new sort: not a horn of the fourth beast, for Macedonia belonged to the body of the third; but a horn of the third beast of a new sort, a horn of the goat which grew mighty, but not by his own power, a horn which rose up and grew potent under a foreign power, the power of the Romans.

The Romans, by the legacy of Attalus, the last king of Pergamus, An. Nabonass. 615, inherited that kingdom, including all Asia-minor, on this side mount Taurus. An. Nabonass. 684 and 685, they conquered Armenia, Syria and Judæa; An. Nabonass. 718, they subdued Egypt: And by these conquests the little horn waxed exceeding great towards the south, and towards the east, and towards the pleasant land. And it waxed great even to the host of Heaven; and cast down some of the host and of the stars to the ground, and stamped upon them, chap. viii. 9, 10. that is, upon the people and great men of the Jews. Yea, he magnified himself even to the prince of the host, ver. 11. the Messiah, the Prince of the Jews, whom he put to death, An. Nabonass. 780. And by him the daily sacrifice was taken away, and the place of his sanctuary was cast down, viz. in the wars which the armies of the eastern nations under the conduct of the Romans made against Judea, when Nero and Vespasian were emperors, An. Nabonass. 816, 817, 818. And an host was given him against the daily sacrifice by reason of transgression, and it cast down the truth to the ground, and it practised and prospered, ver. 12. This transgression is in the next words called the transgression

of desolation; and in Dan. xi. 31. the abomination which maketh desolate; and in Matth. xxiv. 15. the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the Prophet, standing in the holy place. It may relate chiefly to the worship of Jupiter Olympius in his temple built by the emperor Hadrian, in the place of the temple of the Jews, and to the revolt of the Jews under Barchochab occasioned thereby, and to the desolation of Judea which followed thereupon; all the Jews being thenceforward banished Judea upon pain of death. *Then I heard, saith Daniel, one Saint speaking, and another Saint said unto that certain Saint which spake, How long shall be the vision concerning the daily sacrifice, and the transgression of desolation, to give both the sanctuary and the host to be trodden under foot? And he said unto me, Unto two thousand and three hundred days; then shall the sanctuary be cleansed,* ver. 13, 14. Daniel's days are years; and these years may perhaps be reckoned either from the destruction of the temple by the Romans in the reign of Vespasian, or from the pollution of the sanctuary by the worship of Jupiter Olympius, or from the desolation of Judea made in the end of the Jewish war by the banishment of all the Jews out of their own country, or from some other period which time will discover. Henceforward the last horn of the goat continued mighty under the Romans, till the reign of Constantine the Great and his sons: And then by the division of the Roman empire between the Greek and Latin emperors, it separated from the Latins, and became the Greek empire alone, but yet under the dominion of a Roman family; and at present it is mighty under the dominion of the Turks.

This last horn is by some taken for Antiochus Epiphanes, but not very judiciously. A horn of a beast is never taken for a single person: it always signifies a new kingdom, and the kingdom of Antiochus was an old one. Antiochus reigned over one of the four horns, and the little horn was a fifth under its proper kings. This horn was at first a little one, and waxed exceeding great, but so did not Antiochus. It is described great above all the former horns, and so was not Antiochus. His kingdom on the contrary was weak, and tributary to the Romans, and he did not enlarge it. The horn was a king of fierce countenance, and destroyed wonderfully, and prospered, and practised; that is, he prospered in his practices against the Holy People: but Antiochus was frightened out of Egypt by a mere message of the Romans, and afterwards routed and baffled by the Jews. The horn was mighty by another's power, Antiochus acted by his own. The horn stood up against the prince of the host of heaven, the Prince of princes; and this is the character, not of Antiochus, but of antichrist. The horn cast down the sanctuary to the ground, and so did not Antiochus; he left it standing. The sanctuary and host were trampled under foot 2300 days; and in Daniel's Prophecies, days are put for years: But the profanation of the temple in the reign of Antiochus did not last so many natural days. These were to last till the time of the end, till the last end of the indignation against the Jews; and this indignation is not yet at an end. They were to last till the sanctuary which had been cast down should be cleansed, and the sanctuary is not yet cleansed.

This Prophecy of the ram and he-goat is repeated in the last Prophecy of Daniel. There the Angel tells Daniel, that he stood up to strengthen Darius the Mede, and that there should stand up yet three kings in Persia, [Cyrus, Cambyses, and Darius Hystaspes] and the fourth [Xerxes] should be far richer than they all; and by his wealth thro' his riches he should stir up all against the realm of Grecia, Dan. xi. 1, 2. This relates to the ram, whose two horns were the kingdom of Media and Persia. Then he goes on to describe the horns of the goat by the standing up of a mighty king, which should rule with great dominion, and do according to his will, ver. 3. and by the breaking of his kingdom into four smaller kingdoms, and not descending to his own posterity. Then he describes the actions of two of those kingdoms which bordered on Judea, viz. Egypt and Syria, calling them the kings of the south and north, that is, in respect of Judea; and he carries on the description till the latter end of the kingdoms of the four, and till the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, when transgressors were come to the full. In the eighth year of Antiochus, the year in which he profaned the temple and set up the Heathen gods in all Judea, and the Romans con-

quered the kingdom of Macedon; the prophetic Angel leaves off describing the affairs of the kings of the south and north, and begins to describe those of the Greeks under the dominion of the Romans, in these words: *And after him arms [the Romans] shall stand up, and they shall pollute the sanctuary of strength*, ch. xi. 31. Arms are every where in these Prophecies of Daniel put for the military power of a kingdom, and they stand up when they conquer and grow powerful. The Romans conquered Illyricum, Epirus and Macedonia, in the year of Nabonassar 580; and thirty-five years after, by the last will and testament of Attalus the last king of Pergamus, they inherited that rich and flourishing kingdom, that is, all Asia on this side mount Taurus: and sixty-nine years after, they conquered the kingdom of Syria, and reduced it into a province: and thirty-four years after they did the like to Egypt. By all these steps the Roman arms stood up over the Greeks. And after 95 years more, by making war upon the Jews, *they polluted the sanctuary of strength, and took away the daily sacrifice, and, in its room soon after, placed the abomination which made the land desolate*: for this abomination was placed after the days of Christ, Matth. xxiv. 15. In the 16th year of the emperor Hadrian, A. C. 132, they placed this abomination by building a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus, where the temple of God in Jerusalem had stood. Thereupon the Jews under the conduct of Barchochab rose up in arms against the Romans, and in that war had 50 cities demolished, 985 of their best towns destroyed, and 580000 men slain by the sword; and in the end of the war, A. C. 136, they were all banished Judea upon pain of death; and that time the land hath remained desolate of its old inhabitants.

Now that the prophetic Angel passes in this manner from the four kingdoms of the Greeks to the Romans reigning over the Greeks, is confirmed from hence, that in the next place he describes the affairs of the Christians unto the time of the end, in these words: chap. xi. 33, &c. *And they that understand among the people shall instruct many, yet they shall fall by the sword and by flame, by captivity and by spoil many days. Now when they shall fall they shall be holpen with a little help, viz. in the reign of Constantine the Great; but many shall cleave to them with dissimulation. And some of them of understanding there shall fall to try them, and to purge them from the dissemblers; and to make them white even to the time of the end.* And a little after, the time of the end is said to be *a time, times, and half a time*: which is the duration of the reign of the last horn of Daniel's fourth beast, and of the woman and her beast in the Revelations.

CHAP. ix. This chapter contains two things.

1st, An excellent prayer, in which Daniel confesses the sins of the Jews, and implores the mercy of God upon them.

2dly, A most remarkable Prophecy, shewing, (1st,) the re-establishment of Jerusalem, between which, and the coming of the Messiah, there should be seventy weeks of years, that is four hundred and ninety years.

2dly, The death of Jesus Christ.

3dly, The taking of Jerusalem by the Romans.

4thly, The destruction of the temple. And

5thly, The last desolation of the Jews.

This chapter is very edifying. For

1st, From Daniel's prayer, in which we see so much zeal and humility, we learn,

1st, Humbly to acknowledge and confess our own sins, in the presence of the Lord.

2dly, What are the sins of men that kindle the wrath of God against them, and that the means of appeasing it, are to betake ourselves to the mercy and compassion of God, with a sincere repentance and reformation of our lives.

2dly, From the Prophecy of the seventy weeks, which is one of the most positive in all the Old Testament, we discover,

1st, The time that was to pass between the return from the captivity of Babylon, to the coming of the Messiah, which the Spirit of God peremptorily declares to be four hundred and ninety years.

2dly, That at the end of this term, the Messiah should come.

3dly, That he should make an atonement for sin by his death. And

4thly, That afterwards the Romans should come and destroy the city and temple of Jerusalem. All which has been exactly fulfilled, as we are informed most certainly by history.

Hence observe, 1st, That we have in this Prophecy, an immovable support of our faith.

2dly, That it proves beyond contradiction, the Divinity of the Holy Books, and the truth of the Christian Religion. And

3dly, That it shews, that Jesus is the promised Messiah, who has redeemed us by his death, and therefore strongly engages us to believe in him, and to obey his Gospel.

The vision of the image composed of four metals was given first to Nebuchadnezzar, and then to Daniel in a dream: and Daniel began then to be celebrated for revealing of secrets, Ezek. xxviii. 3. The vision of the four beasts, and of the Son of man coming in the clouds of Heaven, was also given to Daniel in a dream. That of the ram and the he-goat appeared to him in the day-time, when he was by the bank of the river Ulay; and was explained to him by the prophetic Angel Gabriel. It concerns the *Prince of the host*, and the *Prince of princes*: and now in the first year of Darius the Mede over Babylon, the same prophetic Angel appears to Daniel again, and explains to him what is meant by the *Son of man*, by the *Prince of the host*, and the *Prince of princes*. The Prophecy of the *Son of man* coming in the clouds of Heaven relates to the second coming of Christ; that of the *Prince of the host* relates to his first coming: and this Prophecy of the Messiah, in explaining them, relates to both comings, and assigns the times thereof.

This Prophecy, like all the rest of Daniel's, consists of two parts, an introductory Prophecy and an explanation thereof; the whole I thus translate and interpret.

Ver. 24. *Seventy weeks are cut out upon thy people, and upon thy holy city, to finish transgression, &c.* Here, by putting a week for seven years, are reckoned 490 years, from the time that the dispersed Jews should be re-incorporated into a people and a holy city, (see Isa. xxiii. 13) until the death and resurrection of Christ; whereby transgression should be finished, and sins ended, iniquity be expiated, and everlasting righteousness brought in, and this vision be accomplished, and the Prophet consummated, that Prophet whom the Jews expected; and whereby the most Holy should be anointed, he who is therefore in the next words called the *anointed*, that is, the *Messiah*, or the *Christ*. For by joining the accomplishment of the vision with the expiation of sins, the 490 years are ended with the death of Christ. Now the dispersed Jews became a people and city when they first returned into a polity or body politick; and this was in the seventh year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, when Ezra returned with a body of Jews from captivity, and revived the Jewish worship; and by the king's commission created magistrates in all the land, to judge and govern the people according to the laws of God and the king, Ezra vii. 25. There were but two returns from captivity, Zerubbabel's and Ezra's; in Zerubbabel's they had only commission to build the temple, in Ezra's they first became a polity or city by a government of their own. Now the years of this Artaxerxes began about two or three months after the summer solstice, and his seventh year fell in with the third year of the eighth olympiad; and the latter part thereof, wherein Ezra went up to Jerusalem, was in the year of the Julian period 4257. Count the time from thence to the death of Christ, and you will find it just 490 years. If you count in Judaic years commencing in autumn, and date the reckoning from the first autumn after Ezra's coming to Jerusalem, when he put the king's decree in execution; the death of Christ will fall on the year of the Julian period 4747, Anno Domini 34; and the weeks will be Judaic weeks, ending with sabbatical years; and this I take to be the truth: but if you had rather place the death of Christ in the year before, as is commonly done, you may take the year of Ezra's journey into the reckoning.

Ver. 25. *Know also and understand, that from the going forth of the commandment to cause to return and to build Jerusalem, unto the anointed the prince, shall be seven weeks.*

weeks.] The former part of the Prophecy related to the first coming of Christ, being dated to his coming as a Prophet, this being dated to his coming to be prince or king, seems to relate to his second coming. There, the Prophet was consummate, and the most Holy anointed: here, he that was anointed comes to be prince and to reign. For Daniel's Prophecies reach to the end of the world; and there is scarce a Prophecy in the Old Testament concerning Christ, which doth not in something or other relate to his second coming. If divers of the antients, as Irenæus, Iren. l. 5. Hæc. c. 25. Julius Africanus, apud Hieron. in h. l. Hippolytus the martyr, and Apollinaris bishop of Laodicea applied the half week to the times of antichrist; why may not we, by the same liberty of interpretation, apply the seven weeks to the time when antichrist shall be destroyed by the brightness of Christ's coming?

The Israelites in the days of the ancient Prophets, when the ten tribes were led into captivity, expected a double return; and that at the first the Jews should build a new temple inferior to Solomon's, until the time of that age should be fulfilled; and afterwards they should return from all places of their captivity, and build Jerusalem and the temple gloriously, Tobit xiv. 4, 5, 6: and to express the glory and excellence of this city, it is figuratively said to be built of precious stones, Tobit xiii. 16, 17, 18. Isa. liv. 11, 12. Rev. xi. and called the *New Jerusalem*, the *Heavenly Jerusalem*, the *Holy City*, the *Lamb's Wife*, the *City of the Great King*, the *City into which the kings of the earth do bring their glory and honour*. Now while such a return from captivity was the expectation of Israel, even before the times of Daniel, I know not why Daniel should omit it in his Prophecy. This part of the Prophecy being therefore not yet fulfilled, I shall not attempt a particular interpretation of it, but content myself with observing, that as the *seventy* and the *sixty two weeks* were Jewish weeks, ending with sabbatical years; so the *seven weeks* are the compass of a Jubilee, and begin and end with actions proper for a Jubilee, and of the highest nature for which a Jubilee can be kept: and that since the *commandment to return and to build Jerusalem*, precedes the *Messiah the prince* 49 years; it may perhaps come forth not from the Jews themselves, but from some other kingdom friendly to them, and precede their return from captivity, and give occasion to it; and lastly, that this rebuilding of Jerusalem and the waste places of Judah is predicted in Micah vii. 11. Amos ix. 11, 14. Ezek. xxxvi. 33, 35, 36, 38. Isa. liv. 3, 11, 12. lv. 12. lxi. 4. lxxv. 18, 21, 22. and Tob. xiv. 5. and that the return from captivity and coming of the Messiah and his kingdom are described in Daniel vii. Rev. xix. Acts i. Mat. xxiv. Joel iii. Ezek. xxxvi. xxxvii. Isa. lx. lxii. lxiii. lxxv. and lxxvi. and many other places of Scripture. The manner I know not. Let time be the interpreter.

Ver. 26. *Yet threescore and two weeks shall it return, and the street be built and the wall, but in troublesome times; and after the threescore and two weeks the Messiah shall be cut off, and it shall not be his; but the people of a prince to come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary, &c.* Having foretold both comings of Christ, and dated the last from their returning and building Jerusalem; to prevent the applying that to the building Jerusalem by Nehemiah, he distinguishes this from that, by saying that from this period to the anointed shall be, not seven weeks, but threescore and two weeks, and this not in prosperous but in troublesome times; and at the end of these weeks the Messiah shall not be the Prince of the Jews, but be cut off; and Jerusalem not be his, but the city and sanctuary be destroyed. Now Nehemiah came to Jerusalem in the 20th year of this same Artaxerxes, while Ezra still continued there, Nehem. xii. 36, and found the city lying waste, and the houses and wall unbuilt, Nehem. ii. 17. vii. 4; and finished the wall the 25th day of the month Elul, Nehem. vi. 15, in the 28th year of the king, that is, in September in the year of the Julian period 4278. Count now from this year threescore and two weeks of years, that is 434 years, and the reckoning will end in September in the year of the Julian period 4712, which is the year in which Christ was born, according to Clemens Alexandrinus, Irenæus, Eusebius, Epiphanius, Jerome, Orosius, Cassiodorus, and other antients; and this was the general opinion, till Dionysius Exiguus invented the vulgar account, in which Christ's birth is placed two years

later. If with some you reckon that Christ was born three or four years before the vulgar account, yet his birth will fall in the latter part of the last week, which is enough. How after these weeks Christ was cut off, and the city and sanctuary destroyed by the Romans, is well known.

Ver. 27. *Yet shall he confirm the covenant with many for one week.* He kept it, notwithstanding his death, till the rejection of the Jews, and calling of Cornelius and the Gentiles in the seventh year after his passion.

— *And in half a week he shall cause the sacrifice and oblation to cease.* That is, by the war of the Romans upon the Jews: which war, after some commotions, began in the 13th year of Nero, A. D. 67, in the spring, when Vespasian with an army invaded them; and ended in the second year of Vespasian, A. D. 70, in autumn, Sept. 7, when Titus took the city, having burnt the temple 27 days before: so that it lasted three years and an half.

— *And upon a wing of abominations he shall cause desolation, even until the consummation, and that which is determined be poured upon the desolate.* The Prophets, in representing kingdoms by beasts and birds, put their wings stretcht out over any country for their armies sent out to invade and rule over that country. Hence a wing of abominations is an army of false gods: for an abomination is often put in Scripture for a false god; as 1 Kings xi. 7. where Chemosh is called the abomination of Moab, and Molech the abomination of Ammon. The meaning therefore is, that the people of a prince to come shall destroy the sanctuary, and abolish the daily worship of the true God, and overspread the land with an army of false gods; and by setting up their dominion and worship, cause desolation to the Jews, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled. For Christ tells us, that the abomination of desolation spoken of by Daniel was to be set up in the times of the Roman empire, Matth. xxiv. 15.

Thus have we in this short Prophecy, a prediction of all the main periods relating to the coming of the Messiah; the time of his birth, that of his death, that of the rejection of the Jews, the duration of the Jewish war whereby he caused the city and sanctuary to be destroyed, and the time of his second coming: and so the interpretation here given is more full and complete and adequate to the design, than if we should restrain it to his first coming only, as interpreters usually do. We avoid also the doing violence to the language of Daniel, by taking the *seven weeks* and *sixty two weeks* for one number. Had that been Daniel's meaning, he would have said *sixty and nine weeks*, and not *seven weeks* and *sixty two weeks*, a way of numbring used by no nation. In our way the years are Jewish luni-solar years, as they ought to be; and the *seventy weeks of years* are Jewish weeks ending with sabbatical years, which is very remarkable. For they end either with the year of the birth of Christ, two years before the vulgar account, or with the year of his death, or with the seventh year after it: all which are sabbatical years.

But I shall refer the reader at present to our future annotations upon the 27th chapter of St. Matthew.

CHAP. x. xi. Daniel relates the vision of a man clothed in linnen, that is, of an angel; the fright which the vision caus'd, and how the angel comforted him, and prepared him to hear the things he had to tell him. Hence you may observe to your advantage

1st, The trouble and fasting of Daniel, who was in mourning for three weeks. Learn then that the character of pious and zealous persons is to afflict themselves when the glory of God is obstructed; and that when the Church is in sufferings to put up prayers for her prosperity.

Observe 2dly, The apparition of the Angel, who was sent to Daniel with a most kind message, in which he spoke and encouraged him, by bidding him fear nothing, by telling him that he was acceptable to God, and that his prayers had been heard. Thence learn how dear pious and zealous persons are to God, and what regard he has to their sufferings and to their prayers.

Observe 3dly, What the Angel said to Daniel, viz. That he had labour'd and fought for the sake of the Jews. Learn then that the care of God for his Church is very great; that he protects her in the worst of times, and finds means to deliver her, when her enemies endeavour to destroy her.

In

In the eleventh chapter there are two things chiefly to be observed:

1st, The Angel foretels very exactly the succession of several kings that were to be in Persia, Syria, and Egypt; their wares, confederacies, and the several revolutions that were to happen in those countries, and particularly the wars between the kings of Egypt and Syria.

2dly, The Prophecy of the reigns of Antiochus, of the persecution he would set on foot against the Jews, and how the Jews were to be deliver'd from the oppression of that cruel and impious prince.

This Prophecy is a commentary upon the vision of the ram and he-goat.

Ch. xi. 2, 3, 4. *Behold, saith he, there shall stand up yet three kings in Persia, (Cyrus, Cambyses, and Darius Hystaspes) and the fourth (Xerxes) shall be far richer than they all: and by his strength thro' his riches he shall stir up all against the realm of Grecia. And a mighty king (Alexander the Great) shall stand up, that shall rule with great dominion, and do according to his will. And when he shall stand up, his kingdom shall be divided towards the four winds of heaven; and not to his posterity (but after their death,) nor according to his dominion which he ruled: for his kingdom shall be pluckt up, even for others besides those.*

Alexander the Great having conquered all the Persian empire, and some part of India, died at Babylon a month before the summer solstice, in the year of Nabonassar 425: and his captains gave the monarchy to his bastard-brother, Philip Arridæus, a man disturbed in his understanding: and made Perdicas administrator of the kingdom. Perdicas with their consent made Meleager commander of the army, Seleucus master of the horse, Craterus treasurer of the kingdom, Antipater governor of Macedon and Greece, Ptolemy governor of Egypt, Antigonus governor of Pamphylia, Lycia, Lycania, and Phrygia major; Lyfimachus governor of Thrace, and other captains governors of other provinces; as many as had been so before in the days of Alexander the Great. The Babylonians began now to count by a new Æra, which they called the Æra of Philip. Roxana the wife of Alexander being left big with child, and about three or four months after brought to bed of a son, they called him Alexander, saluted him king, and joined him with Philip, whom they had before placed in the throne. Philip reigned three years under the administration of Perdicas, two years more under the administration of Antipater, and above a year more under that of Polyperchon; in all six years and four months; and then was slain with his queen Eurydice in September by command of Olympias the mother of Alexander the Great. The Greeks being disgusted at the cruelties of Olympias, revolted to Cassander, the son and successor of Antipater. Cassander affecting the dominion of Greece, slew Olympias; and soon after, shut up the young king Alexander, with his mother Roxana, in the castle of Amphipolis, under the charge of Glaucias, An. Nabonass. 432. The next year Ptolemy, Cassander, and Lyfimachus, by means of Seleucus, form'd a league against Antigonus; and after certain wars, made peace with him, An. Nabonass. 438, upon these conditions: That Cassander should command the forces of Europe till Alexander the son of Roxana came to age; and that Lyfimachus should govern Thrace, Ptolemy Egypt and Lybia, and Antigonus all Asia. Seleucus had possess'd himself of Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Susiana and Media the year before. About three years after Alexander's death, he was made governor of Babylon by Antipater; then was expelled by Antigonus; but now he recovered and enlarged his government over a great part of the east: which gave occasion to a new Æra, called Æra Seleucidarum. Not long after the peace made with Antigonus, Diodorus saith the same Olympic year; Cassander, seeing that Alexander the son of Roxana grew up, and that it was discoursed throughout Macedonia that it was fit he should be set at liberty, and take upon him the government of his father's kingdom, commanded Glaucias the governor of the castle to kill Roxana and the young king Alexander her son, and conceal their deaths. Then Polyperchon set up Hercules, the son of Alexander the Great by Barsine, to be king; and soon after, at the solicitation of Cassander, caused him to be slain. Soon after that, upon a great victory at sea got by

Demetrius the son of Antigonus over Ptolemy, Antigonus took upon himself the title of king, and gave the same title to his son. This was An. Nabonass. 441. After his example, Seleucus, Cassander, Lyfimachus, and Ptolemy, took upon themselves the title and dignity of kings, having abstained from this honour while there remained any of Alexander's race to inherit the crown. Thus the monarchy of the Greeks for want of an heir was broken into several kingdoms; four of which, seated to the four winds of Heaven, were very eminent. For Ptolemy reigned over Egypt, Lybia, and Ethiopia; Antigonus over Syria and the lesser Asia; Lyfimachus over Thrace; and Cassander over Macedon, Greece, and Epirus, as above.

Seleucus at this time reigned over the nations which were beyond Euphrates, and belonged to the bodies of the two first beasts; but after six years, he conquered Antigonus, and thereby became possess'd of one of the four kingdoms. For Cassander being afraid of the power of Antigonus, combined with Lyfimachus, Ptolemy, and Seleucus, against him: And while Lyfimachus invaded the parts of Asia next the Hellespont, Ptolemy subdued Phœnicia and Cœlosyria, with the sea-coasts of Asia.

Seleucus came down with a powerful army into Cappadocia, and joining the confederate forces, fought Antigonus in Phrygia and slew him, and seized his kingdom, An. Nabonass. 447. After which Seleucus built Antioch, Seleucia, Laodicea, Apamea, Berrhæa, Edessa, and other cities in Syria and Asia; and in them granted the Jews equal privileges with the Greeks.

Demetrius the son of Antigonus retained but a small part of his father's dominions, and at length lost Cyprus to Ptolemy; but afterwards killing Alexander, the son and successor of Cassander, king of Macedon, he seized his kingdom, An. Nabonass. 454. Sometime after, preparing a very great army to recover his father's dominions in Asia; Seleucus, Ptolemy, Lyfimachus and Pyrrhus king of Epirus, combined against him; and Pyrrhus invading Macedon, corrupted the army of Demetrius, put him to flight, seized his kingdom, and shared it with Lyfimachus. After seven months, Lyfimachus beating Pyrrhus, took Macedon from him, and held it five years and a half, uniting the kingdoms of Macedon and Thrace. Lyfimachus in his wars with Antigonus and Demetrius, had taken from them Caria, Lydia, and Phrygia; and had a treasury in Pergamus, a castle on the top of a conical hill in Phrygia, by the river Caicus, the custody of which he had committed to one Philæteus, who was at first faithful to him, but in the last year of his reign revolted. For Lyfimachus, having at the instigation of his wife Arsinoe, slain first his own son Agathocles, and then several that lamented him: the wife of Agathocles fled with her children and brothers, and some others of their friends, and solicited Seleucus to make war upon Lyfimachus; whereupon Philæteus also, who grieved at the death of Agathocles, and was accused thereof by Arsinoe, took up arms, and sided with Seleucus. On this occasion Seleucus and Lyfimachus met and fought in Phrygia; and Lyfimachus being slain in the battle, lost his kingdom to Seleucus, An. Nabonass. 465. Thus the empire of the Greeks, which at first brake into four kingdoms, became now reduced into two notable ones, henceforward called by Daniel the kings of the south and north. For Ptolemy now reigned over Egypt, Lybia, Ethiopia, Arabia, Phœnicia, Cœlosyria, and Cyprus; and Seleucus, having united three of the four kingdoms, had a dominion scarce inferior to that of the Persian empire, conquered by Alexander the Great. All which is thus represented by Daniel: Ver. 5. *And the king of the south (Ptolemy) shall be strong, and one of his princes (Seleucus, one of Alexander's princes) shall be strong above him, and have dominion; his dominion shall be a great dominion.*

After Seleucus had reigned seven months over Macedon, Greece, Thrace, Asia, Syria, Babylonia, Media, and all the east, as far as India; Ptolemy Ceraunus, the younger brother of Ptolemy Philadelphus king of Egypt, slew him treacherously, and seized his dominions in Europe: while Antiochus Soter, the son of Seleucus, succeeded his father in Asia, Syria, and most of the east; and after nineteen or twenty years was succeeded by his son Antiochus Theos: who having a lasting war with Ptolemy Philadelphus, at length composed the same by

marrying Berenice the daughter of Philadelphus: but after a reign of fifteen years, his first wife Laodice poisoned him, and set her son Seleucus Callinicus upon the throne. Callinicus in the beginning of his reign, by the impulse of his mother Laodice, besieged Berenice in Daphne near Antioch, and slew her with her young son and many of her women. Whereupon Ptolemy Euergetes, the son and successor of Philadelphus, made war upon Callinicus; took from him Phœnicia, Syria, Cilicia, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Susiana, and some other regions; and carried back into Egypt 40000 talents of silver, and 2500 images of the gods, amongst which were the gods of Egypt carried away by Cambyfes. Antiochus Hierax at first assisted his brother Gallinicus, but afterwards contented with him for Asia. In the mean time Eumenes, governor of Pergamus beat Antiochus, and took from them both all Asia westward of mount Taurus. This was in the fifth year of Callinicus, who after an inglorious reign of 20 years was succeeded by his son Seleucus Ceraunus; and Euergetes after four years more, An. Nabonass. 527, was succeeded by his son Ptolemy Philopator. All which is thus signified by Daniel. Ver. 6, 7, 8. *And in the end of years they [the kings of the south and north] shall join themselves together: for the king's daughter of the south [Berenice] shall come to the king of the north to make an agreement, but she shall not retain the power of the arm; neither shall she stand, nor her seed, but she shall be delivered up, and he [Callinicus] that brought her, and he whom she brought forth, and they that strengthened her in [those] times, [or defended her in the siege of Daphne.] But out of a branch of her roots shall one stand up in his seat [her brother Euergetes] who shall come with an army, and shall enter into the fortress [or fenced cities] of the king of the north, and shall act against them and prevail: and shall carry captives into Egypt, their gods with their princes and precious vessels of silver and gold; and he shall continue some years after the king of the north.*

Seleucus Ceraunus, inheriting the remains of his father's kingdom, and thinking to recover the rest, raised a great army against the governor of Pergamus, now king thereof, but died in the third year of his reign. His brother and successor, Antiochus Magnus, carrying on the war, took from the king of Pergamus almost all the lesser Asia, recovering also the provinces of Media, Persia and Babylonia, from the governors who had revolted: And in the fifth year of his reign invading Cœlosyria and Phœnicia, beat the army of Ptolemy Philopator near Berytus; he then invaded Palestine and the neighbouring parts of Arabia, and the third year returned with an army of 78000: But Ptolemy coming out of Egypt with an army of 75000, fought and routed him at Raphia near Gaza, between Palestine and Egypt; and recovered all Phœnicia and Cœlosyria, An. Nabonass. 532. Being puffed up with this victory, and living in all manner of luxury, the Egyptians revolted, and had wars with him, but were overcome; and in the broils, sixty thousand Egyptian Jews were slain. All which is thus described by Daniel. Ver. 10, &c. *But his sons [Seleucus Ceraunus, and Antiochus Magnus, the sons of Callinicus] shall be stirred up, and shall gather a great army; and he [Antiochus Magnus] shall come effectually and overflow, and pass thro' and return, and [again the next year] be stirred up [marching even] to his fortress, [the frontier towns of Egypt;] and the king of the south shall be moved with choler, and come forth [the third year] and fight with him, even with the king of the north; and he [the king of the north] shall lead forth a great multitude, but the multitude shall be given into his hand. And the multitude being taken away, his heart shall be lifted up, and he shall cast down many ten thousands; but he shall not be strengthened by it: for the king of the north shall return, &c.*

About twelve years after the battle between Philopator and Antiochus, Philopator died; and left his kingdom to his young son Ptolemy Epiphanes, a child of five years old. Thereupon Antiochus Magnus confederated with Philip king of Macedon, that they should each invade the dominions of Epiphanes which lay next to them. Hence arose a various war between Antiochus Epiphanes, each of them seizing Phœnicia and Cœlosyria by turns; whereby those countries were much afflicted by both parties. First, Antiochus seized them; then one Scopas being sent with the army of Egypt, recovered them from

Antiochus: The next year, An. Nabonass. 550, Antiochus fought and routed Scopas near the fountains of Jordan, besieged him in Sidon, took the city, and recovered Syria and Phœnicia from Egypt, the Jews coming over to him voluntarily. But about three years after, preparing for a war against the Romans, he came to Raphia on the borders of Egypt; made peace with Epiphanes, and gave him his daughter Cleopatra: Next autumn he passed the Hellespont to invade the cities of Greece under the Roman protection, and took some of them; but was beaten by the Romans the summer following, and forced to return back with his army into Asia. Before the end of the year the fleet of Antiochus was beaten by the fleet of the Romans near Phocæa: and at the same time Epiphanes and Cleopatra sent an embassy to Rome to congratulate the Romans on their success against their father Antiochus, and to exhort them to prosecute the war against him into Asia. The Romans beat Antiochus again at sea near Ephesus, passed their armies over the Hellespont, and obtain'd a great victory over him by land, took from him all Asia westward of mount Taurus, gave it to the king of Pergamus who assisted them in the war; and imposed a large tribute upon Antiochus. Thus the king of Pergamus, by the power of the Romans, recovered what Antiochus had taken from him; and Antiochus retiring into the remainder of his kingdom, was slain two years after by the Persians, as he was robbing the temple of Jupiter Belus in Elymais, to raise money for the Romans. All which is thus described by Daniel, ver. 13—19.

Seleucus Philopator succeeded his father Antiochus, An. Nabonass. 561, and reigned twelve years, but did nothing memorable, being sluggish, and intent upon raising money for the Romans to whom he was tributary. He was slain by Heliodorus, whom he had sent to rob the temple of Jerusalem. Daniel thus describes his reign. Ver. 20. *Then shall stand up in his estate a raiser of taxes in the glory of the kingdom, but within few days he shall be destroyed, neither in anger nor in battle.*

A little before the death of Philopator, his son Demetrius was sent hostage to Rome, in the place of Antiochus Epiphanes, the brother of Philopator; and Antiochus was at Athens in his way home from Rome, when Philopator died: Whereupon Heliodorus the treasurer of the kingdom, stepped into the throne. But Antiochus so managed his affairs, that the Romans kept Demetrius at Rome; and their ally the king of Pergamus expelled Heliodorus, and placed Antiochus in the throne, while Demetrius the right heir remained an hostage at Rome. Antiochus being thus made king by the friendship of the king of Pergamus, reigned powerfully over Syria and the neighbouring nations: but carried himself much below his dignity, stealing privately out of his palace, rambling up and down the city in disguise with one or two of his companions; conversing and drinking with people of the lowest rank, foreigners and strangers; frequenting the meetings of dissolute persons to feast and revel; clothing himself like the Roman candidates and officers, acting their parts like a mimick, and in publick festivals jesting and dancing with servants and light people, exposing himself by all manner of ridiculous gestures. This conduct made some take him for a madman, and call him Antiochus *Ἐπίπλην*. In the first year of his reign he deposed Onias, the high-priest, and sold the high-priesthood to Jason the younger brother of Onias: For Jason had promised to give him 440 talents of silver for that office, and 150 more for a licence to erect a place of exercise for the training up of youth in the fashions of the Heathen; which licence was granted by the king, and put in execution by Jason. Then the king sending one Apollonius into Egypt to the coronation of Ptolemy Philometor, the young son of Philometor and Cleopatra; and knowing Philometor not to be well affected to his affairs in Phœnicia, provided for his own safety in those parts; and for that end came to Joppa and Jerusalem, where he was honourably received; from thence he went in like manner with his little army to the cities of Phœnicia, to establish himself against Egypt, by courting the people, and distributing extraordinary favours amongst them. All which is thus represented by Daniel. Ver. 21, &c. *And in his [Philometor's] estate shall stand up a vile person, to whom they [the Syrians who set up Heliodorus] shall not give the honour of the kingdom. Yet he shall come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by flatteries [made*

[made principally to the king of Pergamus;] *and the arms [which in favour of Heliodorus oppose him] shall be overflown with a flood from before him, and be broken; yea also [Onias the high-priest] the prince of the covenant. And after the league made with him, [the king of Egypt, by sending Apollonius to his coronation] he shall work deceitfully [against the king of Egypt,] for he shall come up and shall become strong [in Phœnicia] with a small people. And he shall enter into the quiet and plentiful cities of the province [of Phœnicia;] and [to ingratiate himself with the Jews of Phœnicia and Egypt, and with their friends] he shall do that which his fathers have not done, nor his fathers fathers: he shall scatter among them the prey and the spoil, and the riches [extracted from other places;] and shall forecast his devices against the strong holds [of Egypt] even for a time.*

These things were done in the first year of his reign, An. Nabonass. 573. And thenceforward he forecast his devices against the strong holds of Egypt, until the sixth year. For three years after, that is, in the fourth year of his reign, Menelaus bought the high-priesthood from Jason, but not paying the price, was sent for by the king; and the king, before he could hear the cause, went into Cilicia to appease a sedition there, and left Andronicus his deputy at Antioch; in the mean time the brother of Menelaus, to make up the money, conveyed several vessels out of the temple, selling some of them at Tyre, and sending others to Andronicus. When Menelaus was reproved for this by Onias, he caused Onias to be slain by Andronicus: for which fact the king at his return from Cilicia caused Andronicus to be put to death. Then Antiochus prepared his second expedition against Egypt, which he performed in the sixth year of his reign, An. Nabonass. 578: for upon the death of Cleopatra, the governors of her son, the young king of Egypt, claimed Phœnicia and Cœlosyria from him as her dowry; and to recover those countries raised a great army. Antiochus considering that his father had not quitted the possession of those countries, denied they were her dowry; 2 Maccab. iii. 5, 8. and iv. 4. and with another great army met and fought the Egyptians on the borders of Egypt, between Pelusium and the mountain Casius. He there beat them, and might have destroyed their whole army, but that he rode up and down, commanding his soldiers not to kill them, but to take them alive: by which humanity he gained Pelusium, and soon after all Egypt; entering it with a vast multitude of foot and chariots, elephants and horsemen, and a great navy. Then seizing the cities of Egypt as a friend, he marched to Memphis, laid the whole blame of the war upon Eulæus the king's governor, entered into outward friendship with the young king, and took upon him to order the affairs of the kingdom. While Antiochus was thus employ'd, a report being spread in Phœnicia that he was dead, Jason to recover the high-priesthood assaulted Jerusalem with above a thousand men, and took the city: hereupon the king thinking Judea had revolted, came out of Egypt in a furious manner, re-took the city, slew forty-thousand of the people, made as many prisoners, and sold them to raise money, went into the temple, spoiled it of its treasures, ornaments, utensils, and vessels of gold and silver, amounting to 1800 talents; and carried all away to Antioch. This was done in the year of Nabonassar 578, and is thus described by Daniel. Ver. 25. *And he shall stir up his power, and his courage against the king of the south with a great army; and the king of the south shall be stirred up to battle with a very great and mighty army; but he shall not stand: for they, even Antiochus and his friends, shall forecast devices against him, as is represented above; yea, they that feed of the portion of his meat, shall betray and destroy him, and his army shall be overthrown, and many shall fall down slain. And both these kings hearts shall be to do mischief; and they, being now made friends, shall speak lies at one table, against the Jews and against the holy covenant; but it shall not prosper: for yet the end, in which the setting up of the abomination of desolation is to prosper, shall be at the time appointed. Then shall he return into his land with great riches, and his heart shall be against the holy covenant; and he shall act, against it by spoiling the temple, and return into his own land.*

The Egyptians of Alexandria seeing Philometor first educated in luxury by the eunuch Eulæus, and now in the hands of Antiochus, gave the kingdom to Euergetes, the

younger brother of Philometor. Whereupon Antiochus pretending to restore Philometor, made war upon Euergetes; beat him at sea, and besieged him and his sister Cleopatra in Alexandria: while the besieged princes sent to Rome to implore the assistance of the senate. Antiochus finding himself unable to take the city that year, returned into Syria, leaving Philometor at Memphis to govern Egypt in his absence. But Philometor made friendship with his brother that winter; and Antiochus, returning the next spring An. Nabonass. 580, to besiege both the brothers in Alexandria, was met in the way by the Roman ambassadors, Popilius Læna, C. Decimius, and C. Hostilius: he offered them his hand to kiss, but Popilius delivering to him the tables wherein the message of the senate was written, bad him read those first. When he had read them, he replied he would consider with his friends what was fit to be done; but Popilius drawing a circle about him, bad him answer before he went out of it: Antiochus, astonished at this blunt and unusual imperiousness, made answer he would do what the Romans demanded; and then Popilius gave the king his hand to kiss, and he returned out of Egypt. The same year, An. Nabonass. 580, his captains by his order spoiled and slaughtered the Jews, profaned the temple, set up the worship of the Heathen gods in all Judea, and began to persecute and make war upon those who would not worship them: which actions are thus described by Daniel. Ver. 29, 30. *At the time appointed he shall come again towards the south, but the latter shall not be as the former. For the ships of Chittim shall come, with an embassy from Rome, against him. Therefore he shall be grieved, and return, and have indignation against the holy covenant. So shall he do; he shall even return, and have intelligence with them that forsake the holy covenant.*

In the same year that Antiochus by the command of the Romans retired out of Egypt, and set up the worship of the Greeks in Judea; the Romans conquered the kingdom of Macedon, the fundamental kingdom of the empire of the Greeks, and reduced it into a Roman province; and thereby began to put an end to the reign of Daniel's third beast. This is thus express'd by Daniel. *And after him arms, that is the Romans, shall stand up. As מלך signifies after the king, Dan. xi. 8; so ממנו may signify after him. Arms are every where in this Prophecy of Daniel put for the military power of a kingdom: and they stand up when they conquer and grow powerful. Hitherto Daniel described the actions of the kings of the north and south; but upon the conquest of Macedon by the Romans, he left off describing the actions of the Greeks, and began to describe those of the Romans in Greece. They conquered Macedon, Illyricum and Epirus, in the year of Nabonass. 580. Thirty-five years after, by the last will and testament of Attalus the last king of Pergamus, they inherited that rich and flourishing kingdom, that is, all Asia westward of mount Taurus; 69 years after they conquered the kingdom of Syria, and reduced it into a province, and 34 years after they did the like to Egypt. By all these steps the Roman arms stood up over the Greeks; and after 95 years more, by making war upon the Jews, they polluted the sanctuary of strength, and took away the daily sacrifice, and then placed the abomination of desolation. For this abomination was placed after the days of Christ, Matth. xxiv. 15. In the 16th year of the emperor Adrian, A. C. 132, they placed this abomination by building a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus, where the Temple of God in Jerusalem had stood. Thereupon the Jews under the conduct of Barchochab rose up in arms against the Romans, and in the war had 50 cities demolished, 985 of their best towns destroyed, and 580000 men slain by the sword; and in the end of the war, A. C. 136, were banished Judea upon pain of death, and thenceforward the land remained desolate of its old inhabitants.*

In the beginning of the Jewish war in Nero's reign, the Apostles fled out of Judea with their flocks; some beyond Jordan to Pella and other places, some into Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia, Asia-minor, and elsewhere. Peter and John came into Asia, and Peter went thence by Corinth to Rome; but John staying in Asia, was banished by the Romans into Patmos, as the head of a party of the Jews, whose nation was in war with the Romans. By this dispersion of the Christian Jews, the Christian Religion, which was already propagated westward as far as Rome, spread fast

fast into all the Roman empire, and suffered many persecutions under it till the days of Constantine the Great and his sons: all which is thus described by Daniel. Ver. 32, &c. *And such as do wickedly against the covenant, shall be, who places the abomination, cause to dissemble, and worship the Heathen gods; but the people among them who do know their God, shall be strong and act. And they that understand among the people, shall instruct many: yet they shall fall by the sword, and by flame, and by captivity, and by spoil many days. Now when they shall fall, they shall be holpen with a little help, viz. in the reign of Constantine the Great; and at that time by reason of their prosperity, many shall come over to them from among the Heathen, and cleave to them with dissimulation. But of those of understanding there shall still fall to try God's people by them, and to purge them from the dissemblers, and to make them white even to the time of the end: because it is yet for a time appointed.*

Hitherto the Roman empire continued entire; and under this dominion, the little horn of the he-goat continued mighty, but not by his own power. But now, by the building of Constantinople, and endowing it with a senate and other like privileges with Rome; and by the division of the Roman empire into the two empires of the Greeks and Latins, headed by those two cities; a new scene of things commences, in which a king, the empire of the Greeks, doth according to his will, and, by setting his own laws, above the laws of God, exalts and magnifies himself above every god, and speaks marvellous things against the God of gods, and shall prosper till the indignation be accomplished. — Neither shall he regard the God of his fathers, nor the lawful desire of women in matrimony, nor any god, but shall magnify himself above all. And in his seat he shall honour Mahuzzims, that is, strong guardians, the souls of the dead; even with a God whom his fathers knew not shall he honour them, in their temples, with gold and silver, and with precious stones and valuable things, ch. xi. 36, &c. All which relates to the overspreading of the Greek empire with monks and nuns, who placed holiness in abstinence from marriage; and to the invocation of Saints and veneration of their reliques, and such like superstitions, which these men introduced in the fourth and fifth centuries. Ver. 40, &c. *And at the time of the end the king of the south, or the empire of the Saracens, shall push at him; and the king of the north, or empire of the Turks, shall come against him like a whirlwind, with chariots and with horsemen, and with many ships; and he shall enter into the countries of the Greeks, and shall overflow and pass over. He shall enter also into the glorious land, and many countries shall be overthrown; but these shall escape out of his hand, even Edom and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon: that is, those to whom his Caravans pay tribute. He shall stretch forth his hand also upon the countries, and the land of Egypt shall not escape; but he shall have power over the treasures of gold and silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt; and the Lybians and Ethiopians shall be at his steps. All these nations compose the empire of the Turks, and therefore this empire is here to be understood by the king of the north. They compose also the body of the he-goat; and therefore the goat still reigns in his last horn, but not by his own power.*

CHAP. xii. The Prophecy contain'd in this chapter shews,

1st, The deliverance that God would grant to his people, and the glorious reward he would bestow upon those that had been persecuted by Antiochus.

2dly, The duration of that persecution. From whence, for our instruction, we may observe these three principal things.

1st, That God is always the defender of his Church, and that he protects it, when it is assaulted with the greatest violence. Of this we have a proof in what it is here said, that Michael, the Archangel, should take the part of the Jews, and defend them in the time of the approaching calamity.

2dly, In this chapter there is an express oracle which foretels, that the dead were to rise again, some to condemnation, and others to life everlasting, and to be crown'd with eternal glory. Note here, That Jesus Christ teaches us the same doctrine, but after a much clearer manner, in the Gospel; and it ought to inspire us all with a great

zeal for the advancement of God's glory, and the salvation and edification of our neighbours.

Observe 3dly, The time of the persecution of Antiochus, and the number of the days it was to last, which are here expressly described. Learn hence, that God has the times in his power, that he has set a period, which wicked men and the enemies of the Church shall not exceed; that what he has resolv'd shall always come to pass at the time, and in the manner that he has decreed; for which reason we ought always to trust in him, and patiently to wait for the accomplishment of his holy will.

Ver. 1. *And at that time shall Michael stand up, the great prince which standeth for the children of thy people.* As it is said, chap. x. 21. *And there is none that boldeth with me in these things but Michael your prince.* This passage therefore denotes the time when the affairs of the Jews become very hopeful and prosperous, which was about the sixth and the seventh vials, to speak in the language of the Revelations.

— *And there shall be a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation even to that same time.* As is said Revel. xvi. 18. under the seventh vial, *And there was a great earthquake such as was not since men were upon earth, so mighty an earthquake and so great.* The comparing which two places together plainly shews to what times they belong.

— *And at that time thy people shall be delivered.* The Seventy have it *σωθήσονται ὁ λαός σου, thy people shall be saved*, as also the Vulgar Latin has it, *salvabitur populus tuus*, namely, from that bondage and abject condition they had lived in among the nations, as also from the rude and beggarly elements of Moses, and by their conversion to Christianity, they will be made partakers of eternal salvation.

— *Every one that shall be found written in the book.* Yea, not the Jews only, but every one as well Gentiles as Jews, that are found written in the Book of Life mentioned Rev. xx. 12. shall be saved. So that, as it is usual with the Prophets, there is a running out from the temporal deliverance of the Jews to the spiritual deliverance, and from their particular deliverance from the lake of fire or second death, to the general salvation of all whose names are writ in the Book of Life: As the sense is very coherent with what follows in the next verse, which contains, though something involutely and contractedly, both the first and second resurrection, according as the words are capable of a double exposition.

Ver. 2. *And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake.* Where *Many*, in counterdistinction to *All*, does plainly intimate the first resurrection, which is not the general resurrection, but the resurrection of the martyrs only, such as did actually lose their lives for witnessing to the truth, or did without all reserve expose them for the same, as Daniel did who was cast into the lions den, and the three children into the fiery furnace, though they were miraculously delivered.

— *Some to everlasting life.* The Hebrew has it, *those to everlasting life*, viz. Those that awake out of the dust of the earth, at this time, Those that are revived in to their glorious bodies at this first resurrection; these awake to eternal life, and enjoy a blessed immortality in their heavenly bodies. This is the first resurrection of which it is said Revel. xx. *Blessed and holy is he that has part in the first resurrection, on such the second death hath no power.*

— *And some to shame and everlasting contempt.* In the Hebrew it is *valab* which you may render, *But these others*, another sort of people which shall be in perpetual shame and contempt, and are that wretched crew, who are the foul spirits or unclean birds that haunt the ruins of Babylon, those dogs, forcerers, whoremongers, murderers, idolaters and liars that are excluded the Holy City. Which is a very shameful and contemptible condition indeed. And according to this sense of the words of this verse, it is plain the first resurrection mentioned in the Revelations is pointed at.

But now, if by *Many* we do not understand a certain number in counterdistinction to *All*, but a vast multitude as there will be certainly at the general resurrection (and the critical interpreters of the Bible do not stick to affirm that *Many* sometimes signifies *All*, so be, they be but a great multitude) then the text will run naturally enough for the last

last and general resurrection when both good and bad shall arise. And those words, *some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt*, will be a fit distribution of those *Many* or *All* that are then said to arise out of the dust of the earth, the one part of them being to be adjudged to a blessed immortality in glorified bodies, the other to that shameful, squalid, forlorn and accursed condition of the apostate spirits, with whom they are to be sentenced to everlasting fire, or the lake of fire and brimstone which is the second death.

Ver. 3. *And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament.*] They that be docile and understand the ways of God and walk therein, accordingly shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, as the bright azure sky.

— *And they that turn many righteousness, as the stars for ever and ever.*] They that are not only wise and holy themselves, but are instrumental in the promoting true wisdom and holiness in others, shall shine as the stars, shall have a greater and more peculiar and eminent glory than others in the New Jerusalem, where are intimated those different degrees of the glorified bodies of the Saints in the resurrection, which the Apostle sets off by comparing one star with another. *For one star differeth from another star in glory.* But Daniel by comparing the brightness of the firmament with that more vigorous lustre in the stars themselves, makes a great difference betwixt that share of glory and happiness which successful teachers and instructors of the people in the ways of holiness, and faithful magistrates shall have, and that which shall fall to their lot whose activity hath reached no farther than the concern of their own souls.

And thus we see this Prophecy of Daniel to reach to the very end of the world the general resurrection, when the good shall be rewarded with that unchangeable or never fading crown of eternal glory, and the wicked sentenced to everlasting fire.

What follows concerns the obscurity, and intelligibility of these predictions in this last vision, and others that tend to the same scope, *when and by whom* they are likely to be understood, and *by whom* not understood.

Ver. 4. *But thou, O Daniel, shut up the words and seal the book even to the time of the end.*] This command to Daniel to seal the book is a kind of prediction that the book will not be unsealed as to the afore said visions, till the *time of the end*, that is, till the last times or the time of the Roman monarchy, for that is the fourth and last monarchy. But then in that time, *many shall run to and fro*, that is, be inquisitive and hunt after truth.

— *And knowledge shall be increased.*] They shall not altogether hunt in vain, but many shall find the truth: and understand the coming of Christ by the help of the Prophecies of this book when he shall appear, as also in the latter part of these last times the coming likewise of antichrist, which is chiefly here aimed at, when knowledge shall most of all abound, as it has very much this last age or two.

Ver. 5. *Then I Daniel looked and behold! there stood other two.*] Angels in the shape of men, *The one on this side the bank of the river*, viz. of Hiddekel or Tigris, ch. x.

4. *And the other on that side of the bank of the river.* These two Angels signify two presidiary Angels of two kingdoms or empires, and St. Jerome makes them the presidiary Angels of Greece and Persia; Alcazar of Syria and Egypt. But this is out of inadvertency to what times this part of the Prophecy reaches, which is to the times of the Roman empire and Mahometan. Whence we may reasonably collect, that as there has been mention made of the presidiary Angels of Persia and Græcia, ch. x. and also of Judæa; so these two Angels are brought in as the presidiary Angels of those kingdoms or empires that this part of the Prophecy reaches to, namely, the presidiary Angels of the Roman and Mahometan empire.

Ver. 6. *And one said to the man clothed in linnen, which was upon the waters of the river,*] viz. To the man described ch. x. 5. namely, to Palmoni or Christ himself: *How long shall it be to the end of these wonders?* that is, How long shall these wonderful things that have been here foretold continue?

Ver. 7. *And I heard the man clothed in linnen,*] viz. him that is described ch. x. 5. and whose description is somewhat like that of Christ Revel. i. 13, 14, &c. and

that in ch. x. 1. *Which was upon the waters of the river*, but Revel. x. 2: is said to set his right foot on the sea, and his left foot on the earth. *When he held up his right hand and his left hand unto heaven*, As the Angel Revel. x. 5. is said to lift up his hand to heaven, which is the posture of them that swear.

— *And swear by him that liveth for ever, that it shall be for a time and times, and half a time.*] Namely, Those more marvellous things especially foretold of that king of pride ch. xi. 36, 37, 38. that they should continue so long about three prophetic years and an half, or forty-two prophetic months, as the Revelations expresseth it, which is the time of the *little horn with eyes*, Dan. vii. 25. who is the same with this king of pride.

— *And when he shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people,*] That is, after the dispersion of the holy people the Jews shall be ended, which will be under the first thunder, about the sixth and seventh vials; *All these things shall be finished:* i. e. all these marvellous things even to the first and second resurrection when there shall be no more time upon earth, according to the oath of that Angel, Revel. x. 6, 7. which answers to this. For it is about the same thing, as the persons are the same, and therefore the time the same. But the oath of that Apocalyptic Angel is, *That there shall be no more time saving in the days of the voice of the seventh Angel when he shall sound and the mystery of God be finished*, that is, Upon the expiration of the time and times, and half a time, there shall be no more time on earth or series of things there, save what are contained within the seventh trumpet or seven thunders. Within the expiration of that time, and the time and times, and half a time, all these things, as the Angel tells Daniel, shall be finished. So excellent a key is the Revelations to this passage of Daniel.

Ver. 8. *And I heard but I understood not,*] Namely, where to pitch these time and times, and half a time, or where the latter part of the times of the end, which is the time of the fourth monarchy, is supposed to be.

— *Then said I, O my Lord.*] He speaks to the man clothed in linnen upon the waters with this reverence and respect, as being the same angel described ch. x. which I there shewed to be Christ. *What shall be the end of these things?* The Hebrew has it, *What the latter part of those?* whether times or things transacted in those times?

Ver. 9. *And he said, go thy way Daniel, for the words are closed up and sealed till the time of the end.*] Which time of the end here has a more restrict signification, it being an answer to *What the latter part of those times?* Which latter part the Apostle calls *ὅσους αἰῶνες*, the latter times of these last. And therefore is as much as if the Angel had said, the vision touching these time and times, and half a time is sealed up, or concealed till the being of those very times, which are the times of the end in the more strict sense. In which times of the end, or time and times, and half a time, which is the time of the Apocalyptic whore, and beast, and the little horn, with eyes war against the Saints, it is said here likewise, that

Ver. 10. *Many shall be purified and made white and tried.*] viz. In the furnace of affliction and persecution, under the whore, and the beast, or little horn with eyes, or under the above described king of pride, the very antichrist.

— *But the wicked shall do wickedly.*] That is, shall persist in their gross idolatries, and sensual lewdnesses, and all manner of wickednesses, of pride and avarice, and persecution of the pure Apostolick Christians.

— *And none of the wicked shall understand.*] Or none of the followers of Antichrist, and immersed in the foul idolatries and gross sensualities, or blinded with the deceitful hypocrisies of that antichristian synagogue, none of these, or others as carnally or worldly minded as they, shall understand either these visions of Daniel. *But the wise shall understand*, viz. Those that the fear of God has made so, which is the beginning of all true wisdom. These will prove competent judges of the true sense of these Prophecies: And will not be such fools as to expect light from the ancient fathers, for the understanding of them, when as it is expressly declared that they are *closed up and sealed till the latter times*. And then those that are truly wise will understand them, as it is further intimated by what follows that it will not be till then. And it is an

hint and a sufficiently certain, though something obscure, sub-indication, **מִן אַחֲרֵית אֵלֶּה**, what are the latter times of the last? or the times of the reign of antichrist? This intimation I say that follows is sufficient.

Ver. 11. *And from the time that the daily sacrifice shall be taken away, and the abomination that maketh desolate set up,*] (The same that is mentioned, and in the same words, ch. xi. 31. in this very prophecy of the *scripture of truth*.) *There shall be a thousand two hundred and ninety prophetic days*, or eighty six Roman indictions, such as not only the emperors, but the popes of Rome make use of in their decrees, and are peculiar to the Roman state. In the latter part of the last times, at the end of this number, will that king of pride above described ch. xi. 36, 37, &c. be revealed; namely, in the year of Christ 1120. Then will this antichrist, by a publick writing, be exhibited or set out to the world in his colours, that all may see him that are not wilfully blind.

Ver. 12. *Blessed is he that waiteth and cometh to the thousand three hundred and five and thirty days,*] That is, years as before, or 89 indictions. Blessed are they that come to this time, for they will have the opportunity of not only knowing antichrist but of suffering Martyrdom by opposing of him, and witnessing against him in behalf of Christ, and his true Church. This number therefore thus augmented by three indictions, viz. by forty-five years, reaches to the time of the Waldenses and the beginning of their persecutions, viz. to the year 1160. Which continued upon them so long, and with that cruelty, that many hundred thousands of them lost their lives in witnessing to the truth of Christ against the deceptions, impostures, idolatries, and barbarous and tyrannical pride, and cruelty of the Roman antichrist: And so became martyrs for Christ, and purchased to themselves the

privilege of martyrs, which is the privilege of having their share in the first resurrection. Whence it is said, *Blessed is he that waiteth and cometh to the thousand three hundred and five and thirty days. For blessed and holy is he that has part in the first Resurrection, on such the second death hath no power*, Revel. xx. 6. These numbers therefore served for the pointing out the times of antichrist to them that should be born in those times, though Daniel understood nothing by them; and therefore the Angel says,

Ver. 13. *But go thou thy way till the end be*] Which translation is somewhat hard and obscure, Varabius his interpretation seems more natural to me, who interprets it in a future sense, as is often in the Hebrew. *Tu autem vades ad finem tuum, But thou shalt come to thine end*, that is, Thou shalt dye, long before these things come to pass or be understood: *And thou shalt rest*, in an happy, peaceful, and secure condition, as it is said, *The souls of the righteous are in the hand of God, and there shall no torment touch them*, Wisd. iii. 1. *And stand in thy lot at the end of the days*, that is, at the resurrection of the just, and because it is in thy lot, it may intimate some peculiar lot proper to him, and such as he, that is, martyrs: For he was as good as actually martyred, he exposing himself fully to the fury of the lions, rather than he would obey that wicked and impious decree that his enemies had got to entrap him with, from the mouth of *Darius*. His lot therefore seems to be with those that partake of the first resurrection, which happens under the last trumpet, as well as the last resurrection does, and therefore may well enough be said to be *at the end of the days*, that is, of times, namely, to be in the last share of them, under the seventh trumpet, beyond which the Angel swears there shall be no more time upon earth, Revel. x.

Here ends the Book of the Prophet DANIEL.

